REPORT RESUMES

ED 019 156 RC 000 575

THE EFFECT OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE IN THE EDUCATION OF SPANISH AMERICANS.

BY- ULIBARRI, HORACIO
NEW MEXICO UNIV., ALBUQUERQUE, COLL. OF EDUCATION

PUB DATE SEP 58
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$4.68 115P.

DESCRIPTORS- *SPANISH CULTURE, *SPANISH AMERICAN CULTURE, *VALUES, RELIGION, MORAL VALUES, MEXICAN AMERICAN HISTORY, FAMILY (SOCIOLOGICAL UNIT), *EDUCATION, *CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, ECONOMIC FACTORS, HEALTH, POLITICAL ATTITUDES, RECREATION, SCHOOLS, SPANISH, HISTORICAL REVIEWS, NEW MEXICO, CATHOLIC CHURCH,

MANY SPANISH AMERICANS IN NEW MEXICO HAVE DIFFICULTIES WHICH RESULT FROM DIFFERING VALUES IN THE SPANISH AMERICAN AND AMERICAN CULTURES. THESE DIFFERENCES IN VALUES ARE EVIDENT IN RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, ECONOMIC POLICIES, HEALTH PRACTICES, POLITICAL ATTITUDES, RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES, AND FAMILY LIFE. A SECTION IS INCLUDED WHICH DISCUSSES EACH OF THOSE FACETS OF LIFE. THE WORK BEGINS WITH AN HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NEW MEXICO, AND CONCLUDES WITH AN EXTENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY. (CL)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

THE EFFECT OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE IN THE EDUCATION OF SPANISH AMERICANS

ED019156

author
Horacio Ulibarri

Prepared for
The University of New Mexico Research Study
The Adjustment of Indian and Non-Indian Children in
the Public Schools of New Mexico

The College of Education, University of New Mexico

Miles V. Zintz, Director
Horacio Ulibarri, Research Coordinator
Le Roy Condie, Research Assistant
Hitoshi Ikeda, Research Assistant
Edward A. Marinsek, Research Assistant

RC 000 575

September, 1958

15

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

PREFACE - HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS iv

I. CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS 1
  Nature of Discussion. 1
  Methods of Procedure 5
  Goals of Life 8

II. RELIGION 12
  Traditional Practices 12
    Baptism 12
    Confirmation 13
    Holy Communion. 14
    Pennance. 14
    Matrimony 15
    Holy Orders 15
    Extreme Unction 16
  Morality 18
  Witchcraft 20
  Blind Faith 21
  Transitional Practices. 22

III. THE FAMILY 26
  The Traditional Family 26
    The Extended Family. 26
    The Nuclear Family 30
  The Transitional Family 33

ALFRED M. POTTS, 2d

CHAPTER PAGE

IV. EDUCATION 37

Language Barrier. 41

Experience Barrier 41

Culture Barrier 43

Status Quo Today 47

V. ECONOMICS 55

Status Quo 61

VI. HEALTH. 63

VII. POLITICS. 81

VIII. RECREATION. 84

Community Recreation. 84

The Fiesta. 84

Wedding Fiesta. 88

The Serenade. 89

Family Recreation 89

Cuentos 90

Games 91

Social Relationships. 92

Recreation in the Transitional Spanish
American Family 93

IX. THE SCHOOL AND THE CHILD 95

BIBLIOGRAPHY 102

Bickford

PREFACE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

Spanish influence in the Middle Rio Grande dates from the first half of the sixteenth century when the expedition of the young conqueror Francisco Vasquez de Coronado entered the valley from the west. Tales of wealth and fabulous cities and legends of much gold filtered into the army camps and settlements of New Spain. The intrepid Spaniard was further encouraged by Cabeza de Vaca's account of his amazing trek from Gulf to Gulf (1534-36) and the report of Fray Marcos de Niza who, with the ill-fated Estevan, had reached the Pueblo of Hawaikuh in 1539. After two years of fruitless wanderings up and down the central river area and even into the eastern plains, Coronado and his men with little to show for their expenditures of effort and investment in the venture returned to the capitol of New Spain, Mexico City. Their failure, depletion, and discouragement delayed colonization and exploitation of the north for some years. Yet two years of Spanish military control and some attempt to Christianize the Indians marked the beginning of an intermixture of European and indigenous cultures in New Mexico that was to accelerate as other adventurers pushed into the Rio Grande area.

Missionaries of the Order of St. Francis had come with Coronado, and several of them remained to work among the Indians when Coronado and his soldiers left. Some Mexican Indians and perhaps a soldier or two also stayed, content to live in the new land. As the years passed, concern over the fate of the padres in the north led to the forming of two expeditions in the 1580's. They likewise wished to explore and to locate mineral wealth believed by some to be comparable to that so easily found in Mexico.

It was not until 1590, however, that settlement was attempted. In that year Captain Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, lieutenant-governor of Nuevo León, trailed up the Pecos river from the mining town of Almadén in Coahuila. Believing he was legally authorized to make the expedition, this leader brought with him 170 men, women and children, a wagon train of supplies, oxen, plough-shares and military equipment including two brass pieces of ordnance. The journey began in July, 1590. They moved north to Pecos Pueblo and then westward to the Rio Grande. Erecting crosses in the Indian villages, the Spanish leader had the native people swear allegience to the Spanish king. Captain de Sosa also set up a new administration by appointing from among the Indians a governor, an alcalde, and an alguazil. Thus the Spaniards laid the foundations for future Pueblo governments in New Mexico. Although this brave Captain pioneered Spanish settlement in the Southwest, his arrest on grounds of insufficient authority to colonize cut short his career and he was returned to Mexico City under the guard of Captain Juan Morlete. De Sosa had, however, begun the real task of bringing European ideas and practices into the land of the Pueblos.

Nearly a decade later (1598) Don Juan de Oñate successfully established a permanent Spanish colony with his capitol near San Juan Pueblo. From this time on, Spanish officials, soldiers and their families, and Franciscan padres labored to govern and teach the Indians, thus to hold for Spain this far northwest frontier of New Spain.

During the seventeenth century the struggle between the civil and religious leaders for the dominant power characterized much of the activity of the life in New Mexico. This to a degree, plus the zeal of missionaries to stamp out all Indian religious practices, led the Pueblos north of Isleta to unite and simultaneously to rise in revolt against their conquerors.

Successful in the initial movement in 1680, the Pueblo people forced the Spaniards to abandon the middle Rio Grande. They retreated to the pass over the river where subsequent settlement and extended missions marked the beginning of the Spanish El Paso area. In 1692 Don Diego de Vargas marched north from this new center, found the resistance of the Pueblos practically non-existent, and quickly and without much difficulty re-established Spanish control. From then on the government of Spain continued without question until the brief period of the Mexican Republic interrupted and ended Spain's long colonial administration (1820). Mexico had but a short interim, however, as the United States soon annexed the Southwest as a result of the Mexican War (1846-1848).

An increase of settlements up and down the Rio Grande and prosperous traide over the Chihuahua Trail marked the eighteenth century. Spain also pushed northwest and northeast. This expansion led to new missions and presidios in Texas and new missions and military posts in California. The growth was motivated in part by Spain's desire to justify her claims to vast uncolonized areas and in part to prevent French or other intrusions into New Spain from the Mississippi valley and the north Pacific. French voyageurs and Jesuit missionaries had already explored and claimed the ill-defined area named Louisiana, while Russians located in Alaska. Thus the fear of intrusion was not without basis. Yet despite the military protection of frontier colonies and the monopolistic control of commerce, French traders, notably the Mallet Brothers in 1739, crossed the continent into New Mexico. Other trappers, traders, and mountain men from the east began to come in mounting numbers.

Spanish influence remained dominant, however, and it was an influence little changed by the outside world. New Mexico was some 1500 miles from the seat of government in Mexico City and even the religious administrative center moved no nearer than Durango. True, officials came and went but Spanish law continued fundamental, Spanish customs continued little modified from those of earlier years, and the Franciscan Order was unchallenged in its work in the churches and missions.

The laws of the Indies evolved in earlier centuries provided for practically every phase of colonial life and administration. The church was entirely under the Franciscans, and they assumed quasi-episcopalian powers in keeping with a special papal permission granted to the Order in the sixteenth century. Thus, New Mexico's Spanish settlements were controlled by a civil and a religious administration that had been set up even before the first explorers came into the northland. The people had few contacts beyond the various Indians who lived or raided in the area and a small number of settlers who wandered in from the mining towns of northern New Spain. There was almost total absence of European cultural exchange. The language attests to this as even now the vocabulary and grammar have a close resemblance to that of Spain in the days of the Conquest. Acculturation went on but it was an interchange of Indian practices, methods of living, foods, crops, and dress. The Spanish patron rode over his rancho to protect his herds and family against marauding Navajos, Apaches, and Comanches. Indian servants and slaves worked under him and under his wife at the ranch house. Racial intermixture took place on all levels and the number of mestizos increased.

There were a few centers such as Taos, Santa Cruz, Santa Fe, and Albuquerque where fiestas more elaborate than those of the isolated ranches occurred. But the monotony of routine continued, dependent only upon the change of seasons, the calendar of church observances, and the unending cycle of birth, marriage, and death. As a result, New Mexico has preserved folk dramas, customs and manners, and a language little modified by the forces that wrought changes in the parent colony of New Spain.

The late eighteenth century saw violence transorm the Atlantic coastal area settled by the English, and in Europe as well there was tremendous change. The Revolution of the Thirteen Colonies brought independence and the establishment of the United States, while the French Revolution and Napoleon greatly modified the politics of Spain.

Westward in increasing numbers came the new freedom-loving adventurers from the east, across the Mississippi, across the great plains and into New Mexico. Spain tried feebly to hold back the trader by confiscating his goods and declaring him a trespasser. Even Zebulon Pike, whose expedition west in 1806 came to explore the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase, found himself a prisoner in Santa Fe and was forced to march under guard to Chihuahua.

A radical change, however, resulted with the Mexican revolt in 1820. Spain's control was ended and with it the mercantile system; so that in 1821 Mexico permitted legal trade over the Santa Fe Trail. Goods from the United States flowed into New Mexico; traders found considerable profit when the caravans successfully evaded the Indians of the plains. Some merchants even continued the traffic down to Chihuahua. A new era had begun.

Short-lived was the Mexican rule, for in 1846 Stephen Watts Kearny led his Missouri Volunteers into the Rio Grande and without a shot, the

United States took over. Then, before General Kearny left for California in late 1846, he set up a military government, appointing both military executives and a civilian governor, Charles Bent. Regular territorial government under the United States was soon established and New Mexico remained in a territorial status until statehood was proclaimed in 1912.

Throughout this period of American territorial control, changes in customs and practices were slow. True, there were events of considerable importance happening in New Mexico. There were the months of invasion by a Confederate Army from Fort Bliss in 1863 and the end of this triumphal march up the Rio Grande when the Union Army defeated the Rebels at Glorietta Pass. So, the Southern soldiers hurriedly moved south again. And after the War between the States, troops in frontier forts stationed there to protect settlers against Indians and lawless men had to be fed. *Then cattlemen drove herds up the Pecos to supply beef to the U.S. Army.* The cattle business boomed and many soldiers and others took up homesteads and developed large ranches. Spanish citizens began to find themselves crowded into narrower areas as the lands of their ancestors were circumscribed and more Anglos pushed in to take over control of water as well as ranges. Desperados and unscrupulous men brushed with the Spanish vaquero; wars between sheepmen and cattlemen broke out in a number of places; and such famed conflicts as the Lincoln County War brought prominence to gunmen like Billy the Kid.

The day of law enforcement was speeded when the railroads crossed the territory in the eighties. Now officers could quickly overtake the outlaw horsemen. The railroad also made possible the easier marketing of ores and mines, which flourished and failed in a number of mountain areas.

These commercial ventures with cattle, mines and trade did little to modify the age-old routine of the Spanish-American agricultural village life. Although the leaders often became politicos of importance, yet the people felt but little the transformation of the economy that was coming so rapidly.

When the Rough Riders answered the call of the country in 1898, few New Mexicans of Spanish origin joined the ranks. Even World War I with its draft did not bring really fundamental changes. The period after 1917 saw more rapid economic development and the Spanish American faced more intense exploitation both economically and politically, exploitation by the scheming Anglo whose "freedom" he had so enthusiastically welcomed at the end of the Mexican War.

Then World War II engulfed the world with its need for men and women. Spanish Americans and Indians willingly joined the fighting forces. With the war the atomic bomb, developed in part on the Pajarito Plateau above Santa Fe, hurtled New Mexico into an industrial age over night. The 200th Cavalry, many of whom were New Mexico National Guardsmen and enlistees, made the Bataan Death March. The war entered the most remote villages of the mountains when sons and fathers were taken in the draft. After months of training and fighting in strange parts of the world, the veteran returned to his New Mexico. He had lived and worked with Anglos; they had shared and survived many experiences. As a veteran GI, there were wider opportunities to get an education, and many saw and realized the advantages of better training if they were to compete successfully. Many of the families of the Spanish Americans not in active military service had worked in war plants, shipyards and a multitude of other industries.

They had moved out of the villages into urban centers bustling with activity. Never again will the slow pace of an agricultural life in a village satisfy them. Opportunities are great; with more education, with new ideas, the entire outlook has been transformed. The old environment no longer contents. Higher education levels, more material wealth, wider enjoyment of Anglo culture have divorced the Spanish American from much of his age-old heritage. His face is set toward the future as he enthusiastically looks into a new world where he is no longer culturally apart, but where he now understandingly assumes the privileges and responsibilities of American Democracy.

Dorothy Woodward

THE EFFECT OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE IN THE EDUCATION OF SPANISH AMERICANS

CHAPTER I

CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS

I. NATURE OF DISCUSSION

> The American public schools are, in the opinion of the people of the United States, basic and necessary parts of our democracy. We are convinced that they must, and we hope that they do, provide equal opportunity for every child. This means that those at the bottom can compete through education for life's prizes with those at the top. All that is needed are brains, a will to do, hard work, and plenty of ambition. In our faith every aspiring student . . . does have an equal chance with every one else for the White House.[1]

This faith in education is nothing more than an expression of the democratic dream concerning the equality of man. Only recently has there been any concession on the part of the public that there are many ways in which man is not equal. It seems that this extraordinarily strong belief, bordering almost on fanaticism, has blinded the American people on what constitutes equality of educational opportunity. To a great number of people, equality of opportunity means identity of opportunity. In other words, given an opportunity, equal in quantity and content, anyone should succeed in his education, and if he does not, it is nobody's fault than his own. The 1959 AASA Yearbook considers this misconception serious enough even yet to say, "Equality of opportunity does not imply identical opportunity or identical achievement. . . ."[2]

---

[1] W. Lloyd Warner, _et al._, , _Who Shall Be Educated_? (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944), p. xi.

Among the variables constituting equalized educational opportunity are the socio-cultural backgrounds of the students. Yet the schools have been complacent to a large degree in presenting only a small aspect of the American culture as the sum total of the curricula in the schools. Allison Davis very emphatically points out that:

> The present curricula are stereotyped and arbitrary selections from a narrow area of middle-class culture. Academic culture is one of the most conservative and ritualized aspects of human culture. . . . For over a generation, no basically new types of mental problems have been added to intelligence tests. For untold generations we have been unable to think of anything to put into the curriculum which will be more helpful in guiding the basic mental development of children than vocabulary building, reading, spelling and routine arithmetical memorizing.[2a]

Numerous studies in class stratification have concluded that approximately two-thirds of the pupils in school come from the lower classes of American society.[2b]

---

[2] American Association of School Administrators, Educational Administration in a Changing Community (Washington: National Education Association, 1959), p. 18.

[2a] Allison Davis, Social-Class Influences Upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 98.

[2b] August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949).

These studies have also concluded that only a very small percentage of individuals are able to climb the social ladder. For example, a study showed that of the Kansas City adults in 1949, 33.2 per cent were upward-mobile, 54.2 per cent were non-mobile, and 12.3 per cent were downward-moble.[2c]

These studies have also pointed to the fact that each class has a culture of its own, called life-style, and outside of giving allegiance to a core of value configurations, the specific value orientations and aspirations of each class are different from one another.[2d] Thus, by segmenting the curricula to a specialized portion of the American culture, the schools are not serving a great percentage of society.

This monograph will attempt to show how the Spanish American has not been given an equalized educational opportunity because his cultural orientations have not been considered in the development of curricula.

Purpose of the Discussion. The purpose of this discussion is to delineate the major cultural differences of the Spanish Americans and to offer an interpretation of them as they impinge on the education of the Spanish-American child.

Importance of the Discussion. In New Mexico, the problem of equalizing educational opportunity is greatly accentuated because of the large numbers of children coming from cultural backgrounds distinct and basically different from the common core of the American culture. The Spanish Americans, while in a state of transition and moving towards acculturation, can be found on a continuum from no acculturation to maximum acculturation. The children coming from the more acculturated homes may present few cultural problems.

[2c] Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, *Society and Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1957), p. 53.

[2d] W. Lloyd Warner, *et al.*, "Social Class in America," in *Readings in Sociology*, Alfred McClung Lee, editor (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1957), pp. 245-250.

From observation, it can be stated that a large number of Spanish Americans are in a state of semi-acculturation, thus becoming members of the lower classes of Anglo society. At the same time, a large number of children come from backgrounds which are still traditional and where, in many instances, the parents have little or no knowledge of the English language.

Thus, in New Mexico, the teachers seem to need, for maximum effectiveness in their teaching, not only a thorough background of class value configurations, but also an understanding of the cultural orientations of the cultural group whose children they are going to teach, in this case the Spanish Americans. It is hoped that by promoting the teachers' understanding and awareness of the cultural differences, the developmental problems of these children will be better cared for. It is also hoped that the curriculum will become more meaningful and the school experiences of the children will become truly meaningful learning experiences.

Definition of Terms. For the purposes of this paper, the term Spanish American will be used to designate all the Spanish-speaking people in New Mexico who have lived here for several generations. The people who have migrated recently from Mexico and their first-generation descendants will be called Mexican Americans. The reason for differentiating between the two is that the respective cultures of the two groups are essentially different. From observation, it can be stated that within one or two generations the immigrant descendants seem to lose the Mexican cultural orientations and adopt the "Spanish American" culture.

II. METHODS OF PROCEDURE

In order that a presentation be uniform in approach, it is necessary to develop it within a framework of reference. In this study the action framework of reference shall be used. Some interpretations will be made according to Parson's pattern variables.[3]

According to Parsons, the Spanish American is:

1. Affectively oriented: strong personal relations, rather than impersonal approaches, were the rule.
2. Self-oriented: a particular good was looked upon with relation to the individual rather than to the society as a whole.
3. Particularistically oriented: the totality of any given matter was not looked upon or emphasized, but rather a part of the whole became the important thing.
4. Ascriptive in relegation of status and prestige: an individual played a certain status role because of what he was (especially lineage) and not because of what he achieved.
5. Specific in scope of interest: he tended to define issues operationally and not theoretically. Either a thing performed its intrinsic intent and was good, or it did not and was useless.

---

[3] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 198-199.

The action framework depicted in Table I (see page 7) consists of the institutions in any society together with its normative values and actual practices in the achievement of its goals. Taking the institution of religion for a focal point, one finds the institution teaching certain values to the members of society in order that they may achieve the life goal. These value orientations tend to make the people behave in a certain manner. On the individual level, one is selective and may behave in conformity with the dictates of the culture or deviate from the conforming pattern. There are definite limits set for deviation and beyond these limits society places strong social sanctions against extreme social behavior. Within these limits, however, the individual or individuals may start behaving at one or the other extreme. If enough of the people begin to behave at one end of the extreme, the middle road, or mean, moves to a new place and the limits of deviation are redefined. When enough people accept this mode of behavior, a new behavioral pattern is set and the value configurations are modified or changed and over a long period of time the actual life goals may be changed. Thus, we see that culture is an ever-changing and evolving organism.

To further illustrate the point, an example from the Anglo culture will be taken. In the institution of religion, a puritanical outlook on life (institutional) was taught by that institution in order that the people get to heaven (life goal). The majority of the people conformed to these value configurations (behavioral patterns). However, some individuals tended to question the social norm (specific practices) and began to deviate by becoming more liberal. Eventually, more and more people became more liberal and

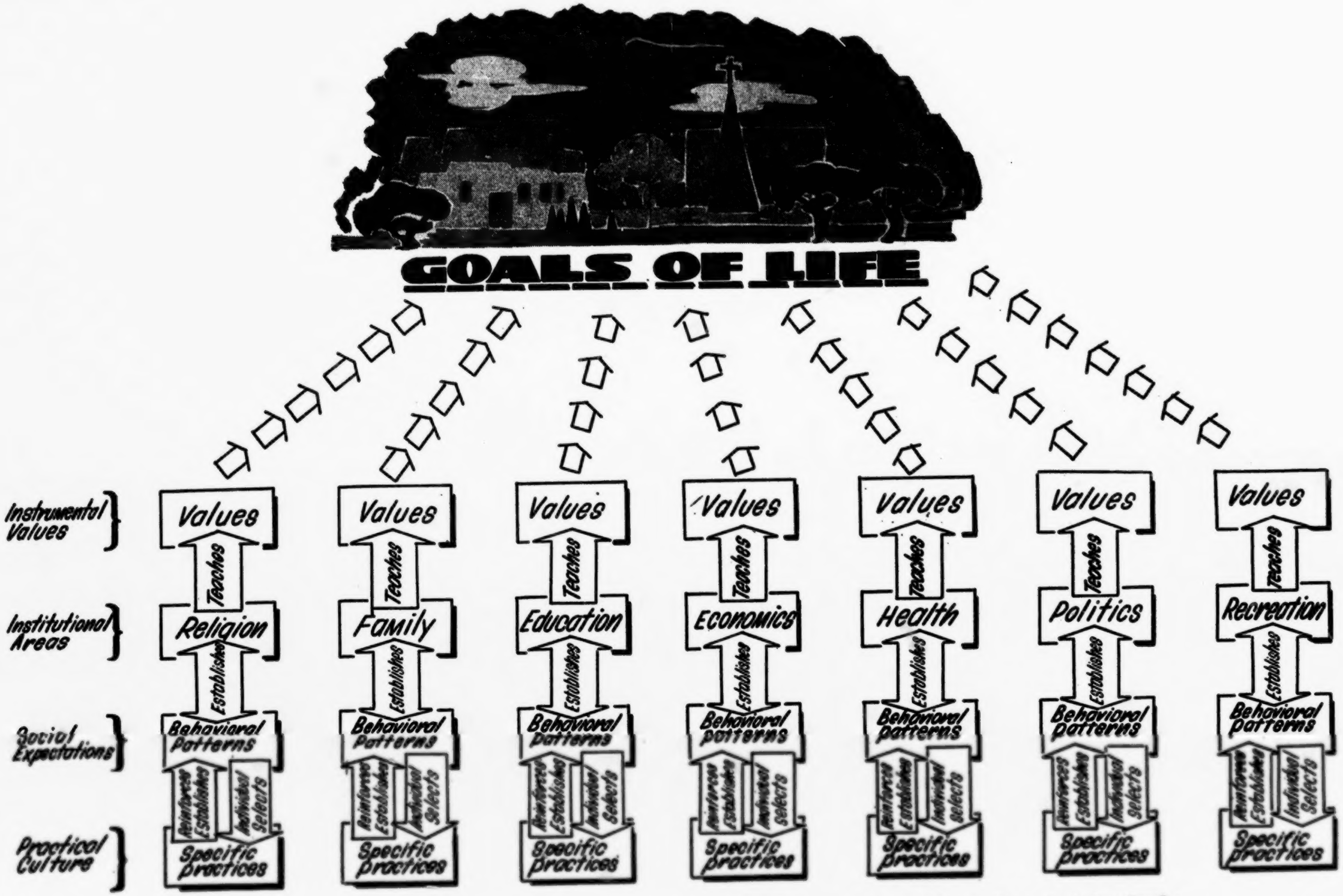


Chart developed by Horacio Ulibarri—Drawn by LeRoy Condie

TABLE I. BEHAVIOR IN SOCIETY. This chart is to be read as follows (beginning at the bottom): **Specific practices** refers to individual behavior. When many individuals adopt a specific practice, a group **behavior pattern** emerges. It will be noted that there is a reciprocal relationship between **specific practices** and **behavior patterns.** While specific practices combine to create behavior patterns, the behavior patterns, in turn, are followed selectively by the individual. He may choose to practice some kinds of behavior, reject others. In time behavior patterns assume a permanent quality. They then become **institutions.** Institutions reflect the group's **values.** The values - - - what is valued - - - orient the group, and the individual, toward the **goals of life.**

after a long time, liberality became the norm instead of the rigid puritanical outlook. This change has constantly been going on so that today more and more people are accepting or developing for themselves a naturalistic religion.

III. GOALS OF LIFE

The literature has consistently reported that the Spanish American is oriented to the present. Lyle Saunders says, "The Spanish American. . . is likely to be strongly oriented to the present or the immediate past."[4] Margaret Mead[5] and Campa[6] are in agreement.

If one examines the time orientation of the Anglo culture, one finds at least three different time orientations. The upper class has a wide range in time orientation. They look at the past generations in their family and glory in the deeds of Grandpa Brewster and Grandma Priscilla. At the same time, they plan for generations ahead by manipulation of their estates and firms as well as through marriage. The middle class is likely to remember one generation in the past and will plan for one generation in the future. They feel secure in providing for their children in the form of education and survivor's benefit insurance. The lower classes have a much narrower orientation in that they do not carry survivor's insurance, do not look to education for security, and generally do not hold stable jobs. The lower in social class one goes, the more immediate are the rewards sought. Thus, a member of the lower-lower class might work one day and expect to be paid immediately in order that he might buy himself a drink. Therefore, the time orientation of the Anglo culture can be visualized in the form of a "V" (see Table II, page 10).

---

[4] Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), p. 119.

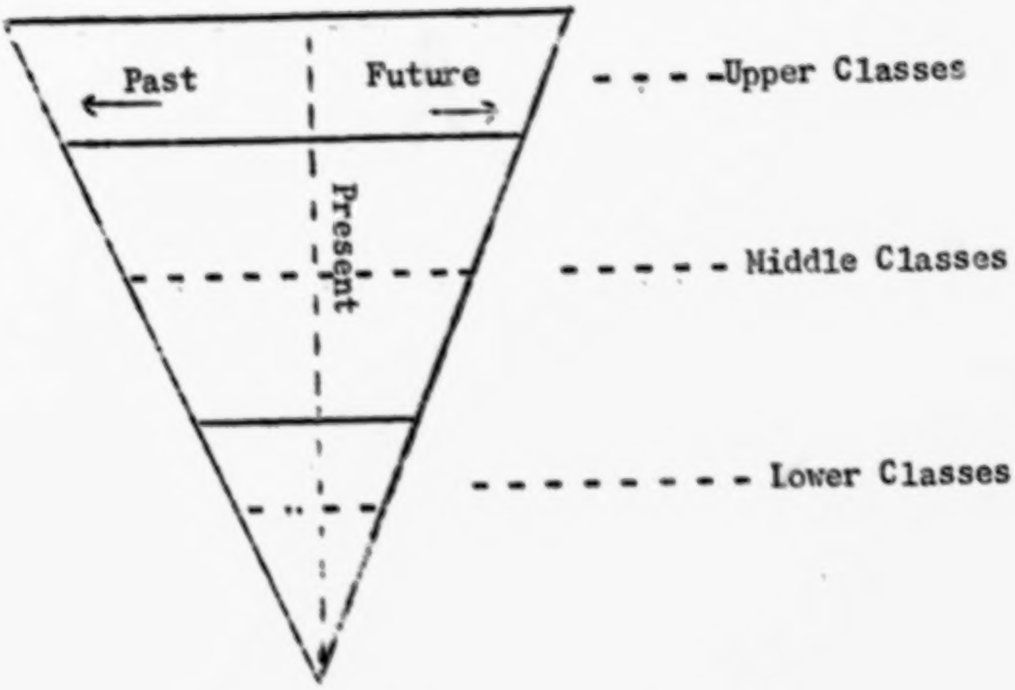
[5] Margaret Mead (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (New York: The New American Library, 1955), pp. 162-163.

[6] A. L. Campa, "Manana is Today," New Mexico Quarterly Review, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 5-7.

In analyzing the traditional Spanish American culture, one finds a two-class society. Approximately ten per cent belonged to the patron (pa trōń) class and the rest belonged to the peon (pe ōń) class. In this kind of social structure one finds approximately the same type of time orientation. The patron class had as wide a range in time orientation as the Anglo upper class, and the peon class had a narrow range equivalent to the Anglo lower classes. There was a vacuum, as it were, of middle class orientation. Today, that vacuum is being filled by a rising middle class among the Spanish American. Table III illustrates the time orientation of the traditional and the transitional cultures in New Mexico (see Table III, page 10).

The life goals of the Spanish American tended to complicate his time orientation. The Spanish had been traditionally Catholic. They brought their religion with them to the New World. Catholicism, adapted to the needs of the people, was the way of life of the New Mexican. Catholicism taught that the purpose of man's stay in this world is to love and obey God in this life so that he may be happy with Him in the next. This was a great source of consolation to the poor Spanish American in his adverse environment. He looked

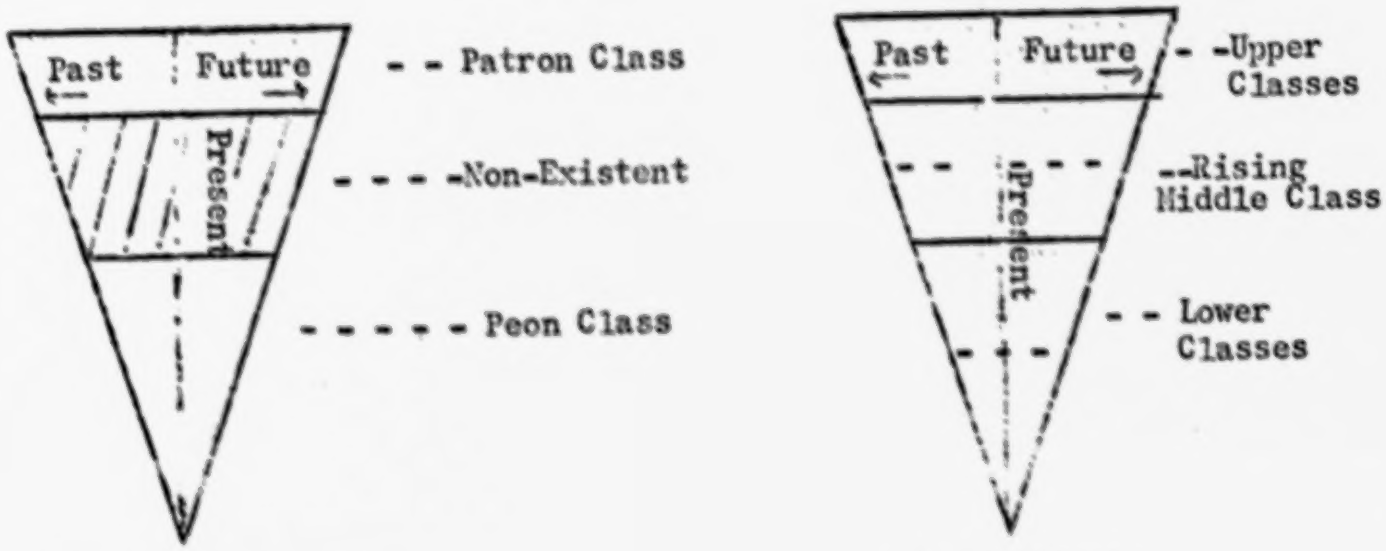
TABLE II



TIME ORIENTATION
ANGLO CULTURE

* * *

TABLE III



Traditional

Transitional

TIME ORIENTATION OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN CULTURE forward to the day when he would receive his just and due reward. Hence, the Spanish American's goal of life was attainment of the Beautific Vision.

This orientation had strong implications on the attitude of the Spanish American toward work, poverty, and mastery of the Universe. The Anglo, because of the Calvinist orientation, has developed capitalism, and has developed a value of mastery over the Universe. The Spanish American in his traditional setting did not particularly abhor poverty, because it was as easy for a poor man as for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. In fact, the Bible reminded him, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

Thus, the emphasis on life, unlike the Anglo's desire for accumulation of wealth, was primarily religious, and worldly or material things were secondary. Work had to be done for survival, but there was no urge to work for work's sake. This does not imply that the Spanish American was lazy. One look at the massive mission churches should dispel the idea of laziness. The fact that they survived on an agrarian economy testified to their willingness to work.

The rest of the study will be devoted to interpretation of the culture through the institutions. There will be some overlapping because the institutions in any society are closely interrelated and to talk about one means involving the rest. It is hoped that through this work a representative picture will be formed of a culture that has prevailed in New Mexico for almost 400 years.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION

I. TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

Traditionally, the Spanish American culture was almost exclusively Catholic in faith. The Catholic religion is built around the Seven Sacraments, that is, Baptism, Confirmation, the Holy Eucharist, Penance, Matrimony, Extreme Unction and Holy Orders. The Church teaches that the sacraments are natural signs which produce supernatural effects.

Baptism

Baptism is the beginning of a new life. When Adam fell, according to the Church, mankind fell. Man is born in a state of original sin. If an infant or an adult dies before being baptized in any form, he is destined to go to limbo, in the case of an infant, or to hell, in the case of an adult who has committed a grievous sin. Baptism washes away the original sin and thus prepares a man to participate in the Kingdom of Heaven.

Since the Spanish Americans believed in the doctrine of original sin, they took great pains to see that every infant was baptized. If the priest was not available to performthe rite, in the event of illness of an infant or other emergency, a lay person would "pour the water," reciting the Catholic form of baptism: "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The child acquired the name of Juan or Juanito. Later the infant was taken to the Church for the rest of the rite which only the priest could perform.

The occasion of baptizing an infant was one of celebration. In the traditional culture a baptism was almost as important for celebration as a wedding fiesta. Usually all the family and guests waited at home for the return of the Padrinos, or godfathers. When they arrived, a verse was recited and the infant was given back to his parents. The fiesta continued with wining, music and dancing.

From then on the parents and the godparents were known to each other as "Compadres." A great amount of respect and mutual goodwill characterized their relationships henceforth. The grandparents of the child also became "Compadres" to the padrinos, recognizing a strong relationship in family ties.

Confirmation

Confirmation is the sacrament that strengthens man and makes him a soldier of God. Even though the sacrament itself, in the opinion of the writer, was not as fully understood and hence not fully appreciated, it was a solemn occasion. Only a Bishop or Archbishop can confer the sacrament of Confirmation. Hence, the coming of His Excellency, the Archbishop, was also an event of great moment.

This happened once a year or so, or as seldom as every five years. At such times, the people would be gathered by the mayordomo. They would clean the church and decorate it as lavishly as possible. In some villages where vegetation was scant, the men would go to the mountains and bring aspen trees and "plant" them as if they were growing on the spot. The men would meet the Archbishop at a distance and bring him under a canopy to the door of the church where the people were waiting to kiss the Pastoral Ring.

According to the Catholic rite, confirmation has always been administered behind locked doors. Traditionally, as soon as the ritual was about to begin, the congregation was instructed that the doors were to be locked, and anybody not desiring to stay for the ceremony should leave. The infants would start getting hot and uncomfortable and start crying. This did not bother the congregation nor the celebrants. The rite lasted about forty-five minutes. The parents then went home together with the god-parent and his spouse for a minor fiesta.

Holy Communion

Holy Communion is the sacrament in which the Catholic partakes of the Body and Blood of Christ. This is the center or focal point of the Mass. A child made his First Holy Communion at the time he entered the age of reason. The child went through a period of instruction either at home or by some lay woman who gathered the children in the neighborhood and instructed them in the catechism. Many a Spanish American lived as a Catholic for the rest of his life with only this meager instruction. The failure to develop an understanding of their faith will be discussed later. According to the precepts of the Catholic Church, each person had to receive Holy Communion during Easter-time. This was the occasion when many hardy sinners went for the usual "once-a-year" confession and received the sacrament of Holy Communion.

Penance

Penance, better known as Confession, is the sacrament that pardons man's sins. The Church teaches that a priest receives the power to forgive sins through Holy Orders. Every Catholic must go to confession at least once a year. Women tended to go quite often, but the men were much more reluctant. Since the precept of the Church is that a person may not receive Holy Communion unless he is free of sin, a Catholic in the old days would go to confession before Mass and receive Holy Communion during Mass. As a result, Confession and Holy Communion became almost synonymous to the Spanish American. Many a time, for some reason or other, a person was not able to receive Holy Communion after going to confession, and the consternation about "leaving his confession open" was quite great among the whole family. Upon receiving the sacraments, a person was treated with high regard for the whole day. All his associates were very careful not to swear in front of him or to tempt him in any way.

Matrimony

Matrimony was perhaps one of the sacraments most fully appreciated and understood by the Catholic Spanish American. It meant, literally, the taking of a person for a lawfully wedded spouse, "to hold and to keep, in sickness and in health, for the rest of your natural life." The divorce rate was almost nil. There were a few rare cases of abandonment. More will be said about marriage in a later chapter discussing the family.

Holy Orders

Holy Orders were not understood by the majority of the Spanish Americans because it was a sacrament that was far removed from them. There were some cases of young men going away to the seminary for a number of years and becoming ordained priests. The Spanish American saw the priest not as a human being, but as a person especially selected by God to carry on His "curing" of souls. The priest was the person with the most influence, prestige, and authority in the community. The traditional priest thought nothing of scolding a man or child as if he had complete authority over the person. Most of the time the priest was the only person in the community who had any formal education. He was not only priest, but also counselor in personal, domestic and economic matters.

Extreme Unction

Extreme Unction is the last rite that a person receives before he dies. This sacrament was associated with death and was, therefore, probably the least appreciated of all. The usual sacraments administered to a dying Catholic are Confession, Holy Communion, and Extreme Unction. This necessitated bringing the priest before the patient became unconscious. It was a running battle throughout between the priest and the people to have them call him in time. The priest could do nothing for the dying person if he was unconscious, other than give him Extreme Unction. The people associated this last visit of the priest with the person's death and were reluctant to bring him.

Very expressive and emotional lamenting started the minute the patient died. Loud crying was the custom. Each member of the family or close friend would cry loudly, telling one reason or another why he lamented the dead person. Sometimes the lamentor would relate a little story or incident that had transpired between the dead person and himself. The sons and daughters were brought in lamenting, each stating how the dead person had left him to suffer the rejections of the rest of the world.

This crying went on throughout the time that the dead person was lying in state, usually in his own house. A room was cleared and chairs were placed along the wall. Candles were lit around the corpse and each person coming to pay his respects was expected to kneel and say a prayer for the rest of the soul of the deceased. Then the people, usually a whole family, went to the room where the "dolientes," the relatives of the departed, were seated. Each time a new person or group came in to pay condolences, a new lament burst forth.

Usually the corpse was kept in state for one or two days. The church bells were tolled, messengers were sent in every direction, and soon everybody within a certain radius knew of the passing of this member of the community. At night the "velorio" (wake) took place. Most of the community came to the wake. Throughout the night different mourners recited rosaries in front of the corpse. The penitentes came in as a group and sang sad and heart-rending dirges (alabados). These dirges have come down through generations by word of mouth or by little booklets written in script. A book of alabados was a treasured thing and the booklet that had the most hymns and was written the fanciest was considered to be the most valuable. The persons, usually two, singing a dirge would light a candle and say, as a sign that they were about to start, "Hail Mary, most pure." They sang the chorus first and then a stanza. The congregation joined in the singing of the chorus after each stanza. Some of the dirges were extremely long and many enthusiasts would be completely hoarse the next day from so much singing.

Outdoors, the men would build a fire and stayed there conversing about things that interested them most. A lot of dirty joking went on and thus care was taken that children of certain ages were not present. Social custom did not allow father and son to be in the same group. If, by accident, both joined the same group, one was sure to leave. This was a social gathering in a sense, because the men did not seem to be conscious that a corpse was lying in state and that a family was in bereavement only a few paces away. Sometimes there were so many around the fire, there was not room for any more. At such times, somebody would throw a cartridge into the fire and everybody would scatter. The ones not afraid, or the quickest to get back after the explosion, got the places closest to the fire. In the several rooms of the house, the women conversed. The young people managed to hide behind the corrals, toilets, and other out-buildings for a quick get-together. Sometimes the get-together was quite intimate.

Talk about witches was prevalent at these times. Everybody believed that it was possible for the dead man's soul to be around and that he might appear to anyone to request a favor. Naturally, everybody was reluctant to meet with this spirit, face to face, and nobody liked to go into the dark alone. Sometimes the younger children would scare the daylights out of couples that would be necking behind trees, toilets, or barns.

II. MORALITY

The moral code of the Spanish American was based on the teachings of the Catholic faith. The feudal system of sixteenth-century Spain was carried over into the culture of New Mexico. The father was vested with full authority over the rest of the household. The grandparent was looked upon as being the seat of wisdom. The Spanish American was dichotomous in his mores as applied to men and women, to adults and children. While it was frowned upon for men to sow their wild oats and for married men to have extra-marital relations, it was strictly taboo for young women to become pregnant and for married women to have extra-marital relations. Many men had their concubines living in another community and they spent as much time with the concubine as they did with the legally married wife. Often through this irregular union, offspring would result. If an unmarried girl became pregnant or "acquired a reputation," she would be almost sure to live all her life as a spinster. The illegitimate children were generally accepted, but sometimes the more sanctimonious would refer to them as "bastards."

Men, since they considered themselves "machos" (he-men), indulged in occasional heavy drinking. But if women were ever seen drinking outside the privacy of home and family, they acquired a reputation. Children were supposed to be obedient to all adults. Since most persons were related one way or another in any given community, the children were supposed to "respect" and obey all elders and to do their errands. Girls were strictly chaperoned, but young men or late teenage boys were allowed to come and go rather freely. They had, however, to ask permission from the father to go to a dance or a fiesta. If the father refused, the boy would have the mother plead his case with the father and then the father, after scolding the young man, would let him go.

The social sanctions applied were usually gossip and, at times, ostracism. Many a young man was thrown out of the family household for continuous drinking or other misbehavior. The father did not hesitate to use a whip on a young man. A girl who became pregnant brought shame upon the whole family. The young men would refer to the girl in front of her brothers with a derogatory term. The women would gossip about the young girl, but would be very sympathetic with the mother because of the "shame" that the girl had brought upon her. The comadres would cry over the mishap. Once the child was born, the whole affair was forgotten and no stigma was attached to the child. Nobody would take the girl in marriage afterwards, however. If the girl divulged who was responsible for her pregnancy, the father would demand restitution by making the boy marry the girl.

III. WITCHCRAFT

Whether the Spanish American brought his beliefs in witchcraft from Spain or acquired them through contact with Indians, or both, can be debated. But the traditional Spanish American had a substantial folklore on witchcraft. They believed that human beings could transfer themselves into balls of fire and travel along at tremendous speeds by bouncing along the ground and sometimes flying short distances. Sometimes these witches would acquire the form of owls or coyotes. Very few other animals figure in Spanish American witchcraft. The Spanish American apparently saw no conflict between his Catholic beliefs and his belief in witchcraft. This could be either because of his lack of understanding of the total religion or the Church's doctrine on the powers of the devil, or for both reasons. The Spanish people were particularistic in outlook and if the Church failed to explain a phenomenon, witchcraft was construed to explain it. The power of witchcraft varied from locality to locality and from person to person, but it can be generalized that everybody in his innermost feelings feared that power.

Stories about balls of fire being seen are still common in rural areas. When people saw tumbleweeds blown by the wind, they thought they were witches disguised in fleeces of wool. A man would tell tales of how his friend had lassoed a coyote and immediately the coyote turned back into an old woman from the community who begged him to spare her life and to tell no one of the incident. "Ruidos," noises at night, were very significant. Dead people would announce their death through these "ruidos" to dear ones who were far away. An often told story is: "My father used to relate how my grandfather at the time of his death made noises as if a tent stake were being broken and later as if a chain were being dragged." Premonitions were very prevalent. When a person died in the community, almost any person would relate how he or she had had a premonition all day that something drastic was about to happen. The same held true for accidents.

IV. BLIND FAITH

The Spanish American, through lack of education, never logically analyzed his faith until more recent times. Whatever the Church taught was accepted as truth. No rationale was needed. The priests seldom explained the doctrines of the Church. Usually they scolded the people for not adhering to the moral code or engaged in aesthetic expositions of the practices and beliefs of the church. There were no philosophical thoughts advanced as is the case in many Anglo Catholic sermons.

The net result was that the people hardly ever grasped the total picture of their religion. Because of their particularistic and affective attitudes, more consideration was paid to praying novenas and lighting candles than to fulfilling their obligations as good practicing Catholics. Many hardy sinners, with no thought of repentance, implored the help of God the most. Many persons would not approach the sacraments, the nucleus of the Catholic faith, but felt that they were the best Catholics if they had certain masses said, recited certain prayers, and performed certain rituals.

The Catholic Spanish American lived his religion every moment of the day. Men prayed when they got up, when they went to the fields to work, when they finished their task of the day, and certainly when any misfortune befell them. The Spanish American had a humble perstnality despite the arrogance he might display in overt behavior. He was full of superstition and fear, and only a Power greater than himself could give him security.

V. TRANSITIONAL PRACTICES

Many of the things that have been stated above, obviously, do not apply to all or even a majority of the Spanish Americans today. The transition has been great and all aspects of Spanish American life have been affected.

Probably religion has been affected the least except for the fact that there have been an increasing number of Spanish Americans embracing

Protestant religions. Protestantism started making inroads into the Catholic Church with the establishment of such mission schools as Allison-James School in 1881, and Menaul School in 1896. Many embraced the Protestant denominations then, and their off-spring were brought up believing that respective faith. So today, there are a great number of Protestants among the Spanish Americans.

Religion is vital to most Spanish Americans. One finds women lighting candles and making novenas. Some men pray before undertaking a task and after completing it. Boys make the sign of the cross before entering a basketball game and often recite a Hail Mary together with the coach. Anyone acquainted with the Spanish culture notices boxers making the sign of the cross before each round or at least at the beginning of the bout. The grandmothers light candles for the young men or boys about to undergo a crucial task.

The practices and traditions of more than three centuries change slowly, especially when they relate to a person's beliefs. So that even among persons who are quite well educated, one finds a certain amount of superstition. Those beliefs that persist are the old familiar ones or modifications of them. Belief in witchcraft is overtly exhibited among only the least acculturated. Some mountain village teachers still have a hard time getting students to accept scientific facts because these facts contradict the old beliefs taught at home by the parents. The teacher will do well not to deride these convictions. To the extent that he does so, his work will be less effective among the students.

The holding power of the Catholic Faith seems to have been weakened among the Spanish Americans. The traditional conformities have been questioned by young and old. The solidarity of the family is being disturbed by the entrance of women into the field of labor. Women have become more independent and are less tolerant of deviant husbands. Hence, divorce has increased greatly.

Another problem has been the increase in addiction to alcoholism. It probably is the impact of transition and the resultant effect of dislocation that has caused the great increase in alcoholism. It is a curious fact that the majority of true alcoholics among the Spanish Americans are men under forty-five years of age. Alcohol and drugs have had their impact on Spanish American youth. One needs only to scrutinize the newspapers to see the great number of serious offenses they commit.

Transition has brought about greater freedom for the Spanish American woman. World War II seems to have been her emancipation. Previous to this time, her place was in the home. She was not mistreated and when she acquired the role of motherhood, she was, in a real sense, revered. With World War II came the going away from home of thousands of men. For the first time in their lives, women could not account to their husbands for the details of daily life. Of necessity, their independence broadened. Once this freedom was found, the women were reluctant to forsake it after the husbands' return.

The schools began to have an impact on the culture. The girls going through school found it difficult to accept the subordinate roles imposed on them by the mores of the traditional society.

Boys, as well as girls, rebelled against parental dominance and one finds adolescents continuing social activities unchaperoned far into the night. Without judging their behavior, one can say that, statistically, there has been a great increase in illegitimacy among the Spanish American girls. This goes on mostly in the lower classes and one should not build stereotypes from isolated incidents.

In the opinion of the writer, the worst in transition has been overcome by the Spanish Americans. The excesses are on the decline and the deviant behavior that is still existent, especially in cities, seems to be a "class" more than a "culture" problem. In other words, the Spanish American who exhibits deviant behavior does so because he has fallen into the lower class of Anglo culture and not because he is Spanish American in transition. To be sure, there are hundreds that have not yet found themselves in Anglo culture. There are others, too, that have not begun the transition. The encouraging fact is that there are many who have already gone through the transition and have found their place in an acculturated society. These persons are in a position to help others directly, or through their example, encourage others to go on. For better or for worse, more and more Spanish American people are accepting the folkways, mores, and customs of the Anglo culture.

CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY

I. THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

The Extended Family

If one were to attach hierarchical values to the institutions of the traditional Spanish American culture, one would have to say that the family was the most important institution. "To be Spanish is to belong to a familia," says Margaret Mead.[1] This institution was the binding force of all the Spanish American culture. However, to dichotomize a culture would be absurd since all the institutions are interrelated and interdependent. Religion was the basic philosophy and as an institution per se would have been very weak because of the scarcity of priests in New Mexico. The family nonetheless derived most of its values from the teaching of the Church and, in turn, supported it by carrying on within the family religious practices and observances. Thus, in talking about the traditional Spanish American family, one is virtually talking about the whole culture. However, this discussion will be limited to the most essential factors necessary to understand the family.

"La Familia means more than parents and their children--it includes grandparents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins of the third and fourth degree."[2] With this statement, Loomis describes a vast and complicated interrelationship in the traditional Spanish American culture known as the extended family. Basically the extended family was an acknowledgement of blood relationships up to fourth and fifth generations. Connected with this acknowledgement was a personal warmth and "we-ness" that each individual held for the other members. The extended family was headed by the grandfather, a great uncle, or other distinguished elder. This extended familism was rather informal, but had great binding power. Mutual respect was accorded each individual and each had titles by which he was addressed. The members would address each other as Cousin, Aunt, Uncle, Father, Mother, Grandfather, or Grandmother. In talking about any member or to him, his name would be prefixed by his proper title, as, Cousin Juan or Aunt Maria.

---

[1] Margaret Mead (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (New York: The New American Library, 1955), p. 153.

The implications of the extended family were many. In rural areas an extended family might form a community. In urbanized centers the whole group would tend to live in the same section of the city. Probably the greatest implication it had was the mutual help and support that members gave each other. The extended family worked a section of land--planting and harvesting it together and each drawing from the same storehouse throughout the winter. In the extended family there was no one who suffered hunger alone. If one had anything, especially food or clothing, he shared it with his relatives. Religious services were practiced in the extended family. Rosaries and "velorios" honoring saints were part of the activities of the extended family. When a member of the extended family became ill, it was a matter of great concern for all. As late as 1954, Lyle Saunders found this practice prevailing.[3] Recreation was an extended-family activity, with the weekly dance being the main feature of family recreation.

---

[2] Charles P. Loomis, Informal Groupings in a Spanish-American Village (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1940), p. 5.

There was, of course, much interrelationship between extended families. As the communities grew larger with passing generations, more extended families developed. Sometimes a whole village would be composed of one extended family; others would contain several extended families which were originally related. It is the opinion of the writer that an extended family would start when one member questioned the authority of the head of the extended family. If he were in a position to do so, that is, if he were a father of many grown sons and had some grandchildren, he would set himself up as the head of another extended family. The members respected the head of extended families as they would their father or grandfahter. In other words, the authority vested in the head of the family was positional. Sometimes these extended families would co-exist peacefully; sometimes bitter feuds lasting several years would develop.

With the acquisition of a new economy and with the necessity of becoming a mobile group, the Spanish American had to abandon the idea of the extended family as it had existed for centuries. The concept of extended familism did not die completely, and one still finds remnants of it throughout New Mexico. The blood relatives might be scattered over a large geographic area, but the acknowledgment of the relationship and the "we-feeling" is still there, although probably not to fourth or fifth degree cousins. The extended family idea still gives an entree to the timid rural Spanish American migrating to a city. From observance, the writer can say that in many cases one or two nuclear families moved to an urban center and shortly afterwards a good many other nuclear families followed. The first ones to migrate would help the others to settle down and acquire jobs. Today, the Spanish-speaking population is just about as mobile as the Anglo, and it is not unusual for a distant relative to stop overnight at a "cousin's" house instead of going to a hotel or motel.

---

[3] Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), p. 310-312.

Although these remnants are still here, the extended family as such, with the exception of very few cases, is gone from the Spanish American culture. Today in the majority of the cases, blood relationships are acknowledged to first degree (first cousins), but the mutual respect and help of the old days is no longer there. More and more the Spanish American has accepted the non-distributive values of the Anglo culture.

Saunders writes that in the village culture there were almost no formal organizations with possible exceptions being the Church, the penitente order and irrigation committees. He further states,

> Whatever needed to be done could be accomplished largely through the informal relationships of the community itself, and there was little need to set up any additional organizations to pursue any special interest or goal.[4]

Thus, with the passing of the extended family from the Spanish American scene, the people were left with no social organization to facilitate the process of transition. Unlike the Indians who have their councils and the Anglos who have a vast number of organizations, the Spanish Americans today have no formal organizations to direct and coordinate their activities. Two notable exceptions are the LULAC and the G.I. Forum. However, many Spanish Americans view these two organizations with suspicion and sometimes outright hostility.

---

[4] Ibid., p. 137.

> Many attempts have been made to organize Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest for various purposes. But until recently, with one or two exceptions, they have been failures. Two regional organizations, the Alianza Hispano-Americana and the League of United Latin American Citizens, have been in existence for a fairly long time, but one is largely a fraternal insurance group and the other a loosely organized series of local councils that have had no consistent regional program and only sporadic success in some local communities. Neither has exercised any long-range influence among the Spanish-speaking group. In 1952 the most vigorous organizations among the Spanish-speaking veterans who were organized under the dynamic leadership of a Corpus Christi physician, and who, largely in south Texas, were meeting with some success in their fight to eliminate discrimination against Spanish-speaking people, improve health and educational conditions, and make their influence felt in local and state politics. The Community Service Organization, working largely with urban people, in Los Angeles and other parts of southern California, was moving toward virtually the same objectives. Both undoubtedly owe much of their success to the fact that they have been active among people who have come to know and appreciate the necessity for and effectiveness of organization in the Anglo culture.[5]

There are many acculturated Spanish Americans who belong to social organizations such as the Elks, or Knights of Columbus, but it is within an Anglo atmosphere and these organizations can not be identified with the Spanish culture.

The Nuclear Family

In the traditional Spanish American family it was difficult sometimes to distinguish between the nuclear and the extended family. The sons, upon marriage, would build their residences in close proximity to the father's household. The married daughters generally moved to the new "family's" residence. Henceforth, she would technically belong to another family, but she continued to call her father's home "mi casa."

---

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 91-92.

In the closeness of the residences there was much interrelationship among the married brothers and the father. The children grew up as if they belonged to one family. Except for the titles given, there probably was no differentiation in affection given to a mother or an aunt by the children. The property of one was virtually the property of the other. There was exchange of help and women sent each other plates of food. A child could sit at the table both at his home and at the home of his uncle or grandfather. All elders exercised parental authority and the children learned to obey them. This included obedience to all siblings older than themselves.

Within the nuclear household, one could find a large kitchen which served as a dining room and one to three bedrooms according to the size of the family. There were no bathrooms and washing and bathing were done in the kitchen. Several children slept in one bed or on the floor. The father and mother slept in a bed by themselves or with infants still nursing.

Relationships between husband and wife tended to be sedate and seemingly unaffectionate. The wife was considered subordinate to the husband, but, by no means, subjugated. The husband was, in all senses of the term, the head of the family. Since the role of the father was to be the head of the family, all major decisions were made by him. He would do this with or without consultation from his wife or older sons. He had complete authority over his household, but if the father (now grandfather) intervened, he would give in to the older man who by now was considered the seat of wisdom. The father tended to be paternalistic, but if the necessity arose, he would become autocratic. The mother was the affection of the whole family. The children cried on her shoulder and made her ask favors for them from the father.

The father taught his sons the trades necessary for rural subsistence, such as farming and riding; the mother taught the daughters the culinary arts of a simple society. The place of the mother was in the home teaching the children to obey, to pray, and to become loving and obedient servants of the Lord. She usually led the family in nightly prayers. As in all cultures, the mother was closer to the daughters, although, overtly, she gave more affection to the sons. Sister Van der Eerden found that this closeness between mother and daughters existed not only up to the time that the daughters were married, but also through the child-bearing period.[6]

The Spanish American boy's ambition was to become like his father. This he managed to do since choices in vocations were limited. At a very early age he started tending the sheep or goats or milking the cows. When he got older, he would help on the farm with such chores as hoeing and gathering hay. If the sheep had to be moved to summer pastures, the older sons would go to the sheep camp for the season. The daughter's place, like the mother's, was in the home. She was subordinate to the brothers much in the same manner that the mother was to the husband. In general, they were zealously chaperoned.

---

[6] Sister Lucia Van Der Eerden, "Maternity Care in a Spanish-American Community in New Mexico," Anthropological Series, No. 13 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1948), p.8.

There was another source of relationship in the family that has no significant counterpart in other cultures. That relationship was found between the "padrinos" (godparents) and the child. The parents and the godparents addressed each other as "compadre." Great respect and warm friendships developed between the compadres. Rev. Candelaria, a Presbyterian minister, praises this function of the Catholic Church highly.[7] The children themselves were treated as if they were sons or daughters of the padrinos and in turn, the godchildren showed obedience and respect to them as if they were their parents.

All in all, the Spanish American family was a strong unifying force that kept the culture alive for many years. It provided for the welfare of the society remarkably well despite the isolation and other hardships that the people encountered in a semi-arid region.

II. THE TRANSITIONAL FAMILY

As in all phases of the Spanish American culture today, the family unit is on a vast continuum of acculturation. The residences range from the traditional adobe to the modern household with as much utilitarian appeal as the Anglo. The family organization in the nuclear setting is also varied--from the subordination of the women and children to an entirely democratic management through family councils and a surging feeling of independence on the part of women. The father may still be the Head of the family, but the sons and daughters are also holding jobs. In many cases, especially with young couples, both the husband and wife are working.

---

[7] Rev. J. I. Candelaria, Pastor, Second Presbyterian Church, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Spouse relationships have changed to the extent that women are accorded more status and prestige. One finds women as active in the various professions as men. There is a vast number of women in the teaching profession as well as in clerical work and politics. This change has brought about an independent feeling among the women. While in the traditional culture divorce was virtually unknown, today the incidence is rising. This growing independence and the realization that the Welfare Department takes care of abandoned families are major causes of the increase of the divorce rate. In the traditional culture strong sanctions from the Church and the communitty prevented divorce. Today, because of laxness in religion and ecconomic independence, women no longer fear the separation of the husband from the family.

The weakening of the family has caused the disllocation factor to become critical. Dislocation occurs when society makes certain demands on a person that are opposing or contradictory to the expectations of the family. As a result of the conflict, the person with no deep orientations in either culture has no one from whom to seek guidance and help. He can not turn to the school and church or other social institutions because they brought the conflict into the open in the first place. He can not turn to his family because it is not in accord with the demands placed on him by society. In a situation such as this, the individual will formulate his own value orientations. Such values tend to be shallow and short-ranged and usually socially unacceptable.

One finds expression of dislocation among the Spanish American adult in the form of alcoholism and extra-marital relations. Among boys, the Pachuco gang offers release for aggression and the acquisition of security. Among teenage girls, there is more promiscuity than was known in the traditional culture. The copying of extreme extrovert behavior from the Anglo culture such as dress, using cosmetics, chewing gum, and smoking in the streets are types of marginal behavior noted.

The internal control of the family has weakened in many cases. Many parents are also in a state of dislocation. On the farm, the father had the respect and prestige of the family. In the urban center where the best jobs he could get were menial and low-paying, he became personally disorganized and the children no longer accorded him the status and prestige he enjoyed before. The mother, who was used to hard work on the farm, did not know what to do with herself. Thus, she also felt ill at ease. The children tended to get out of hand because the neighborhood in which they lived was usually the less desirable residence area in the city. Their peers exhibited typical marginal behavior, such as drinking, drug addiction and the like. Because they wanted to belong, they accepted this as expected behavior.

Naturally, the above is true of only a portion of the Spanish American population. This portion, in our social class system, would be designated as the lower class. From this group, there is, today, a rising middle class. These middle-class parents are represented in several professions and afford homes in excellent residential areas. For all practical purposes they are rearing their families in the best traditions of the middle-class Anglo culture.

Exactly what proportion has adopted the values of each respective social class is immaterial. The important thing to remember is that within an urban setting, one finds the Spanish American in situations ranging from lower-lower class to upper-middle class. In rural areas one finds the Spanish American on a continuum from little or no acculturation to almost complete acculturation, with the majority at the lower end of the scale.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

> In this frontier situation there was little need for formal education. The priests and parents drilled children in Church doctrine. Sometimes the local scribe or priest was employed by a family or two to give instruction in reading, writing and counting to the children for a few weeks a year. Literacy was the exception rather than the rule. There was little to read, only an occasional agreement to sign, communications were by word of mouth, and letters were rare. The counting that was needed could be carried by tallies. Weights and measurements were approximate as there was no need for arithmetic refinement. Though, in rare instances, a leading family might send a son to school in far-off Mexico, the priesthood offered the only career in which such training was warranted. The duties of public office required but little more education than was needed in ordinary affairs. It is understandable, then, that the people should have little interest in education and should place no great importance on book learning. Formal schooling did not fit into the culture and economy of the colony.[1]

Thus George Sanchez very aptly describes the situation in colonial New Mexico as far as education, as the Anglo knows it, is concerned. There was much informal education going on as is the case with any group of people. The boys learned the manual arts from the fathers and the girls learned housekeeping from the mothers. The family taught the folkways and mores of the society to the children. Peer group interaction contributed to this informal education. But formal education was virtually unknown and the lack of appreciation for education has persisted until today. This status had great repercussions in the life of the New Mexican.

---

[1] George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 8.

Following Kearney's bloodless conquest, the Anglo culture assumed dominance. With the Anglo-Americans came ruthless politicians and merchants. They acquired the water rights and land of the people. The New Mexican, who had built his folkways and mores on the good will of his neighbor, found himself being exploited to the end by the Anglo. He failed, completely, to understand the bitter, competitive nature of the Anglo. The exploitation caused him to fear, resent and hate the intruder. Yet, the new order did little or nothing to bridge the cleavage between the two cultures. No effort was made to bring the Spanish American, who was a foreigner in culture, into the American fold. Before 1890 there were virtually no public schools in New Mexico and the only education available was that provided in private or parochial schools.

Sanchez states:

> Though congress made grants of land to the territory for educational purposes, the national government never made due recognition of its responsibilities to the native people of the region acquired from Mexico. It failed to take note of the fact that those people were, in effect, subject peoples of a culture and of a way of life radically different from that into which they were suddenly thrust by a treaty (Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848). The government also failed to appreciate the fact that the territory lacked the economic resources, the leadership, and the administrative devices necessary to launch an effective program of cultural rehabilitation.[2]

---

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Even after 90 years of belonging to the United States, that is, 1940, there were few educational opportunities available to the great majority of Spanish Americans. Before the coming of the WPA, the school buildings through the northern part of the state were one-room hovels. The school term ranged from four to six months. The teachers were inadequately prepared, and many of them succumbed to cultural defeatism and ceased to care. From these shambles emerged a few rugged, individualistic Spanish American youth who surmounted the obstacles, acquired some formal education, and in turn, became teachers. If the history of any given Spanish American community is traced, it will be found that in the majority of cases, educational advancement took place only after these dedicated teachers took over. Known to the writer are several communities that have had, as yet, no high school graduates.

Thanks to the WPA, there were many new school buildings erected. With the enactment of the Equalization Law in 1940, there were more equal opportunities given to the Spanish American. Even though this act is far from being adequate at the present, it did give better advantages to the children of New Mexico. Consolidation, especially in rural areas, has been one great asset to educational achievement. Today, despite the isolation, most children attend consolidated schools which are in a position to afford better programs.

There still remain, however, the three common elements, the barriers that all subcultures suffer in the process of acculturation. These are the language barrier, the experience barrier, and the culture barrier. These are formidable and place the students at a disadvantage in acquiring the curriculum, which in all probability is geared to middle-class Anglo culture. The result is a great incidence of educational retardation, low scoring on any type of standardized tests, and finally, defeatism on the part of the student as he progresses through school if remedial help is not given.

Language Barrier

The language barrier exists when a student comes to school with little or no knowledge of English. He has to learn the new language, the most important aspect of which is having to think in the new language. The Spanish American developed a high degree of ethnocentrism, as exemplified by such expressions as "minza," (my race), and held to the mother tongue with great tenacity. Before World War II, most children came to school with little or no knowledge of the English language. Moreover, Spanish continued to be spoken in the home. The parents probably knew little or no English and did not encourage the children to carry on a conversation in English at any time. The peer group, coming from the same circumstances, preferred to talk in Spanish. The child heard and spoke English only at school, either in class discussion or with the teachers. He continued to talk Spanish on the playground or in communication with his peers. Thus, this partial participation in two languages becomes a progressively limiting factor in the educational achievement of children.

How curtailing to educational progress such a situation can be may be seen from the fact that all of the curriculum, with the exception of the manual arts or vocational education, is verbal. Throughout the day the child in a typical school is engaged in speaking, writing or reading. As an example, if a Spanish American student is only half as proficient as an Anglo child in the use of English, it stands to reason that with such a verbal curriculum, the Anglo child is going to be twice as successful as the Spanish child, other things being equal. In testing intelligence and achievement, the Spanish American child consistently scores lower than the Anglo without respect to native endowment. A passing remark was made by a student in a college workshop: "I'd hate to be tested for proficiency or for intelligence on my meager knowledge of Japanese." Eells and Davis have shown that almost all standardized tests in use today are discriminatory against students of lower classes and students that have English as a second language.[3]

Experience Barrier

The experience barrier exists when a student has a very limited life space, or environment. For example, one child in the classroom has traveled with his parents on summer vacations, has been to foreign countries, and has access to many books at home. In other words, the parents are typically middle class and give their child all opportunities within their means. This child, one could say, has a wide range of experiences that he brings with him to school. Moreover, he will, in all probability, keep widening the range of experiences because of his home situation. On the other hand, a child whose parents are poor, who has no travelling experience, who has no books at home, whose parents are uneducated and care little for the educational progress of the child, has a very limited life space. According to psychological theory, a child starts learning where he is, emotionally and experientially. One can readily see the teaching-learning problems presented by these two individuals in a typical classroom situation. The former child has more experiences on which he can build relationships to the new conepts that he is acquiring in school. He also has more material at his disposal with which to solve problems.

---

[3] Kenneth Eells, and others, Intelligence and Cultural Differences (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 3-38.

The Spanish American children of today are found in a variety of situations. The rural child, while he has more geographic area to explore than the urban child, has a more limited number of artifacts and persons with which to interrelate. Thus, his life space is narrower than that of his city counterpart. The field of experiences that he brings to school is limited. What he learns will be more of a vicarious nature than firsthand relationships of new concepts to former ideas. The urban child may reside in any area, from the best to the worst. The children of middle-class Spanish American parents will be no different in the range of experiences than the Anglo children. In the poorer areas, the children will have a very limited life space. They usually come from parents who are unacculturated, from low-income families, and from peer groups such as Pachucos. They have a narrow range of experiences and tend to have a negative attitude toward school. The motivation from the family is almost nil.

The Culture Barrier

The culture barrier exists when the culture or life style of the family tends to be different from, and at times opposite to, the culture of the school. Havighurst[4] emphasizes that the culture of the school is typical lower-middle class. The teachers, regardless of class origin, have internalized the lower-middle class values. Thus, they perpetuate these values and tend to pass judgment on the achievement of the children in terms of these values. One of the principal values of middle-class Anglo society is achievement and success.[5] However, the lower classes do not recognize this value and neither does the Spanish American culture. Instead, it is an ascriptive culture, that is, it gives status and prestige for what a person is (lineage), and not for what he does. There are other values which are conflicting or extremely different between the Anglo and the Spanish cultures. If a teacher is not cognizant of the differences between the two, she is liable to dub the Spanish child as stupid, lazy, anti-social and all the other stereotypes that are usually applied to minority groups.

According to Parsons, some of the major differences between the goals of the Anglo and the traditional Spanish American are:[6]

1. The Anglo tends to give status and prestige to achievement and success; The Spanish American tends to give prestige

---

[4] Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1957), p. 181-185.

[5] Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society, A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 390-394.

[6] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 198-199.

and status on ascription, that is, not for what an individual does, but for what an individual is, especially family lineage.

2. The Anglo is universalistic in perspective; the Spanish American is particularistic. That is to say, the Anglo looks at the wholeness of the situation, tending to forget and sacrifice individuals for the goals in mind; the Spanish American looks at the individual and the particular thing, tending to forget the wholeness of the situation.
3. The Anglo is affectively neutral, that is to say that the role of the individual is looked upon first as a professional one and not as a person closely affected by the other party because of friendship, relationship, or any other personal matter. For example, a doctor looks at himself as a doctor and secondly as a friend to the patient he is treating. The Spanish American tends to be affective in that he looks at himself as a friend, a father, a relative or the like while at the same time looks at an individual in the professional capacity that the role demands. Thus a businessman looks at himself as a brother to the person who is asking him for credit and secondly as a businessman who is dealing with a customer.
4. The Anglo has diffused values, that is to say, he sets goals regardless of whether one or more individuals will be hurt in the process as long as the majority of the people benefit by it. The Spanish American looks at the specific good that a particular thing will bring to one individual and forgets the well-being of the community in doing good for the one individual.

According to Saunders the differences between the two cultures are:[7]

1. Language. Language, of course, is a major difference. In the language differences, he emphasizes the orientations of the two people as expressed by their idioms. He cites Campa's famous phrase, that in Spanish the clock "walks" but in English it "runs," which illustrates the tempo of the two cultures.
2. Time Orientation. He gives the orientation to time as a major difference. The Anglo, being futuristically oriented, differs in his values from the Spanish American who is oriented to the present.
3. Attitudes toward change. Another major difference that Saunders points out is the attitude toward change. The Anglo is highly oriented toward change; the Spanish American may mistrust the changing future into which the Anglo so buoyantly rushes.
4. Status and prestige. The Anglos are doers. Status and prestige are given for what an individual does. One has only to say that so and so is a superintendent and he is categorized with a certain amount of status and prestige, or he might be a plumber and the same holds true. Not so with the Spanish American. Status and prestige are not given for individual efforts but for what a person is, especially on the factor of family lineage.

---

[7] Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), pp. 111-140.

5. Attitudes toward acceptance and resignation. Saunders also points out the differences in attitudes toward acceptance and resignation. The Anglo is the master of the universe. He is forever seeking to improve conditions. The Spanish American, by contrast, is likely to meet difficulties by adjusting the them rather than by attempting to overcome them.
6. Attitudes toward dependence and independence. The differences in attitudes are that the Spanish American gives no high value to independence; the Anglo, on the other hand, has as one of his principal values the preference for independence and a corollary dislike and distrust of the dependent state.

The writer wishes to interpolate that the above citations, both from Parsons and Saunders, are generalizations. They have a basis of truth in them. Any given stereotype will have individuals conforming to them and this is the basis for truth. The danger comes in categorizing all the people in any given society by a stereotype. The differences in the extremes of one group tend to be greater than the mean of the differences of two groups. Thus it is prudent on the part of the teacher to treat each individual on an individual basis and use the backlog of cultural knowledge only as a possibility for explanation of the individual's behavior. The Spanish American is a society in a great state of flux and what was true ten years ago may no longer be true today.

The Status Quo Today

One might ask, "What advances have been made in the education of the Spanish American?" To answer that question, it is well to compare the findings of Sanchez in 1940 with some statistics of today. Sanchez states that:[8]

1. Almost a hundred years after becoming American citizens a broad gap still separates them from the culture which surrounds them. In lieu of adequate instruction, they have clung to their language, their customs, their agricultural practices. Though no fault can be found with a society because it seeks to perpetuate worthy elements of its culture, it is to be regretted that, in this instance, the process has not been accompanied by suitable adaptations.

2. The U.S. Census of 1930 revealed that 13.3 per cent of the the people in New Mexico were illiterate. When compared with other states, New Mexico ranks third from the lowest in literacy.

3. The educational level of the Spanish-speaking population is most vividly portrayed by school statistics. Though children from this sector [He is talking about the counties with almost all Spanish American population] of the population constitute one half of the public school enrollment, they make up less than one-fifth of the enrollment of the twelfth grade. Of almost sixty thousand Spanish-speaking children enrolled in school more than one-half are in the first three grades. Over one-third of the total enrollment of these children is found in the first grade. In every grade beyond the first, more than 55 per cent of the children are more than two years over-age for their grade. Generally speaking the achievement of the Spanish-speaking child in school subjects is not only far below national standards but also below state averages.

4. Educational practices in New Mexico have been patterned after those developed in the Middle West and in the East for peoples and conditions vastly different from those obtaining here.

5. The school program is based on the fallacious assumption that the children come from English-speaking homes--homes that reflect American cultural standards and traditions.

---

[8] Sanchez, op. cit., p. 28-35.

6. The unresponsiveness of the school to the environment of New Mexican children tends to force them out of school. Most of these children leave school before they have learned enough to help them become effective in improving their environmental conditions. They leave school not only without an adequate knowledge of English but without the rudiments of education in health and work habits, in social practices and personal duties.

7. In the school year 1937-1938 New Mexico spent $51 per pupil in average daily attendance for the total current expenses of the public schools. That year, each of the four counties with the highest percentage of Spanish-speaking population spent less than $35 per pupil--less than half the amount spent by the county with the highest expenditures. . . . The first distribution of the state public school equalization fund in the 1939-40 school year gives the four most 'Spanish' counties less than $50 per classroom unit. In that distribution, the average for the state is about $90, one county (among the lowest in proportion of Spanish-speaking population) receiving about $160 per unit.

8. It seems almost unbelievable that, insisting as we do that the American of Spanish descent learn English, we give him less opportunity to learn that language than is given to any other group in the state. . . . It would be truly remarkable if, in the face of these obstacles, he should achieve cultural success.

In the analysis which follows, the reader is asked to refer back to the quotations bearing the same number for comparison purposes.

1. The writer is unable to generalize on the extent of the "broad gap" that exists between the Spanish American and the Anglo in New Mexico. However, from observation it can be noted that there are in New Mexico a great number of unacculturated Spanish Americans. There are a great number of old people that do not speak the English language. Among the young there are many who stopped their formal education early and as a result, do not speak the English language fluently and do not begin to understand the Anglo

folkways and mores. Along the continuum of acculturation, there are a number of people that exist in a half-Spanish half-Anglo world. They have accepted some of the folkways and mores of the Anglo but still retain the Spanish values. Still others are highly acculturated and have lost all the Spanish values, practically speaking. About the only contact they have with their culture is the language and the food. There are very few Spanish Americans in the state who have completely lost cultural contact. The reader is referred to Table II on page 10. At the same time it is possible to find Spanish Americans highly acculturated in one or two fields but still quite traditional in others. The whole situation is very complex and almost impossible to measure.

2. The data pertaining to illiteracy were not included in the 1950 census report because nationwide it was becoming very insignificant. However, the 1950 census gives the median years completed in school by persons of Spanish surname of age twenty-five and over as being 6.1. Returning World War II veterans took advantage of the G.I. Bill; hence, these figures have changed completely. No new data are available as of now.

3. The State Department of Education no longer has available separate statistics on school enrollment for the Spanish American. Thus, it is impossible to give a direct comparison. However, the per cent of drop-outs for the Spanish American

before completion of the twelfth grade can safely be assumed to be higher than the state or the national rates. For example, in a school known to the writer, the percentage of drop-outs was approximately 75 per cent. This community, in the writer's estimation, was an average northern New Mexico community.

4. As far as classroom practices are concerned, it can be safely assumed that the schools in the state are generally following the same patterns of instruction as described by Sanchez nearly two decades ago.[9] From 1935 to 1940 Dr. Tireman conducted the East San Jose study[10] and in 1939 he commenced the Nambe study.[11] The latter was terminated by the war. In both of these studies the problem of bilingualism was attacked with great success. A school curriculum was built on the community school idea. It was demonstrated that the Spanish children with their unique background required different methodology. Methods of instructions were experimentally developed and applied, locally, with considerable success. Subsequently, various reports were made by Dr. Tireman. In terms of widespread acceptance, the studies can not be termed as being successful. Why the methods advocated

---

[9] *Ibid*.

[10] San Jose Experimental School, *We Learn English*, A Preliminary Report of the Achievement of Spanish-Speaking Pupils in New Mexico. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, July 1936).

[11] Loyd S. Tireman and Mary Watson, *A Community School in A Spanish-Speaking Village* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948).

by Tireman and his associates were not adopted in the state is a moot question that has never been satisfactorily answered. The schools continued, and still persist in using, the methods developed for Middle West and Eastern schools.

5. The same fallacious assumption, namely, that the children come from English-speaking homes, still exists today. A review of the course offerings throughout the institutions of higher learning reveals that there is little attempt made to cope with the problems of education of the Spanish American. However sound in theory all educational courses may be, in actual practices they fail and cause frustration both to the teacher and students if the specific cultural background of the population served is not taken into account.
6. Much of what was said under No. 5 can be repeated here. The children that drop out from school do so because the curriculum is not satisfying their needs. The schools have failed to give a workable knowledge of the English language to these early drop-outs. The schools have failed to qualify them, occupationally, for any but the most menial jobs. Furthermore, they have failed to acquaint these children with the social graces necessary for successful participation in the Anglo culture. The resentment that these students have toward the school can not be easily erased.

7. While the writer does not agree with Sanchez's method of comparing the opportunities available to the Spanish-speaking student with those of the rest of the state, he agrees in principle: those who need the most are getting the least. Comparison by per capita cost is not a true base because the situations in each system are different. A metropolitan area may have the least per capita cost and yet be giving the best school program offerings in comparison with the rest of the state. At the same time, the system with the highest per capita cost may be offering the least desirable program because of its isolation and other adverse conditions. A better index, it seems to the writer, would be teachers' salaries. An examination of average teacher's salaries revealed a range in 1955-1956 from $4,223 in a northern New Mexico system to $5,668 in a southern system.[12] The discrepancy is too great. If salary is an indicator of the quality of service, then the odds are in favor of the Anglo population because the lowest paying countries in the state happen to be predominately Spanish American in population. Another comparable index is the direct-charge budget cost per pupil. The direct charge per capita cost in 1956-1957 ranged from $226.00 per pupil

---

[12] Public School Finance Division, Statistics, Fiscal Year 1958-1959 (Santa Fe: Department of Finance and Administration, State of New Mexico, 1958), p. 24-25.

in one southeastern district to $4.90 per pupil in a northern one.[13] Is this equal opportunity? Lack of opportunity together with cultural defeatism has released a downward spiral of ignorance, apathy, poverty, and all their consequences in a segment of the Spanish American population. The vicious circle is hard to break and only with concentrated efforts can these people regain honorable places in society.

8. It has been truly remarkable that in the face of these obstacles, some Spanish American people have achieved cultural success. Today, one finds Spanish Americans in all walks of life. There are medical doctors, college professors, lawyers, dentists, teachers, nurses, clerks and stenographers. The number in the middle-class bracket is not too large, but is increasing. As each Spanish American rises into the ranks of the middle class, the chances are increased for others to follow. What the Spanish American wants is equality of opportunity. Many will not take advantage of their opportunities, but then it will be an individual problem and not a problem of one dominant culture preventing a minority culture from obtaining equal status.

---

[13] New Mexico Taxpayers Association, This is How Public Schools Are Financed in New Mexico, A "Know Your Government" Report prepared in Cooperation with the State Educational Budget Auditor (Santa Fe: New Mexico Taxpayers Association, April 1957), p. 28-29.

TABLE III

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND YEARS OF SCHOOLING

POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO COUNTIES

1950

Counties (Spanish-Speaking)	Percent of Ages 5-17 in School	No Schooling	1-7 Yrs. Schooling	8 Yrs. Schooling	4 Yrs. High School	4 Yrs. or More College
Rio Arriba (80%)	78.5	14.1	47.1	12.2	8.9	1.5
Taos (81%)	82.0	12.4	46.7	11.0	11.0	3.7
Mora (85%)	81.7	9.0	61.8	10.2	4.9	2.0
San Miguel (77%)	77.5	9.8	43.7	14.1	10.2	5.5
Guadalupe (75%)	83.5	6.3	48.4	12.3	10.9	3.0
TOTALS (Average)	80.6	10.3	49.5	11.9	9.1	3.1
Predominantly Anglo Counties in New Mexico						
Chaves	78.7	2.5	24.1	13.3	23.9	6.7
Curry	81.4	1.4	25.1	16.7	20.4	5.4
Eddy	81.4	7.0	26.2	12.3	18.8	6.5
Lea	76.0	1.2	21.1	16.0	21.6	6.2
Quay	82.8	2.6	26.7	17.7	22.3	4.6
Roosevelt	86.4	0.6	26.3	17.1	16.4	6.4
TOTALS (Average)	80.5	3.0	24.7	14.8	20.9	6.2

(Bureau of Business Research, Business Information Series, No. 22, "Some Cold Facts for Welfare Workers in New Mexico," June 1953.)
According to statistics compiled by the Bureau of Business Research at the University of New Mexico in 1950, these are the results of the school program in the state of New Mexico. The totals do not add to 100%, possibly because of the number actively enrolled in college, but this factor is not pertinent for comparison purposes.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMICS

The Spanish people in New Mexico were children of the earth. Reid states, "There is a fervent love of the land which keeps many Spanish Americans from seeking work elsewhere where economic conditions might be better."[1] The Spanish Americans came into New Mexico at the time when the Industrial Revolution was not yet in its embryonic stage. Because of the virtual cultural vacuum that existed for hundreds of years, the Industrial Revolution had no impact in New Mexico. The feudal culture of sixteenth-century Spain was transplanted in New Mexico with utmost fidelity. There was the two-class social stratification with about ten per cent belonging to the patron and the rest to the peon class. An agricultural economy seems to fit best this type of social structure. The patron class contrived to maintain the agricultural, two-class system.

Through royal patronage some colonists were able to acquire grants of land known as mercedes. Community life was organized around them. There were some homesteads owned individually, but the grant was owned by the community. The ditch association insured everyone water rights.

Those that were more successful in land tillage and stock raising emerged into the patron class. Though the theoretical cleavage existed in the stratification of New Mexican society, as it does in most two-class systems, in the daily social life it was almost non-existent. The patrones sometimes were closely related to nuclear families of the peon class. The interrelationships were mostly cordial and the simplicity of the organization was able to survive because it depended on the mutual good will of its members. The land was cultivated by family groups and harvested in the same way. Grazing was done with no difficulty over the land that belonged to the community and there were no stifling regulations imposed on the people. Thus, as Saunders says, "The economic unit was the community, not the individual."[2]

---

[1] J. T. Reid, It Happened in Taos (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946), p. 10.

A new kind of economy was introduced by the Anglo about 1845. The people were totally unprepared for this sudden change that shook the very foundations of their culture. They had no tradition of democracy, of competition, or of achievement and success. They had built a communal culture where the voluntary participation of each member contributed to the well-being of the community. This had seen them through centuries of isolation and wrestling with a hostile environment. The New Mexican produced only as much as he needed to subsist. There were no markets where he could sell his sheep or cattle. There were no facilities to transport his produce. In fact, each community was self-subsistent and to produce more than would be consumed was viewed as gluttonous. Some measures were taken for the security against dry years ahead, but within the unwritten history of the New Mexican, there are no legends or traditions of starvation or want.

---

[2] Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Care ; The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, p. 49.

With the new order came "big business." The Anglo brought with him large-scale stock raising practices. He had a system of taxation that was unknown to the Spanish American. He questioned the rightful ownership of the land, even though the New Mexican had lived on it for generations. Court orders evicted many New Mexicans from their holdings that had come to them from their father's fathers. Grants of land, even though assured by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to remain with the descendants of the persons to whom they had been given, passed, through court action or deceit, from the Spanish American to the hands of greedy speculators. Large stock raising companies leased the range from the community, overgrazed it, ruined it, reaped the profits, and moved on. The Spanish American was overwhelmed by all of these sudden developments.

The indigenous economy had not been a monetary one. People exchanged goods and services, and borrowed freely from one another. The men exchanged "days of work" with one another. Community enterprises were undertaken on the basis of days of work that each was to contribute. The ditch association taxed each man so many days of work for a certain number of water rights. Very few people had money but little was needed. With the coming of the American trader the need for money was felt, but not strenously so. Each Spanish American had his piece of land and he felt secure on it. The Anglo merchant saw this as a means of exploitation also. He introduced new goods to the Spanish American for which he paid in kind. Sometimes long-term credit accounts were established. A Spanish American would trade at the Anglo store on account from year to year. At the end of the year, he "turned" his crop of wool, lambs, calves or farm produce to the merchant. The merchant was in a position to pay the farmer the lowest prices possible. In turn, he would ship the stock to Denver or Kansas City. Thus, he made a double profit from the farmer, first in selling him the merchandise and second in allowing him ridiculously low prices for his crops. Most of these farmers, who once started accounts such as these, never "finished" settling their accounts.

All in all, the economy of the Spanish American was not seriously threatened until the 1930's. Prior to that the men had started going to Wyoming, Utah and Colorado to work as sheep herders, but this factor did not completely transfer the thinking of the people into a money economy. Until very recently, and still in some communities, a person who owns no land and does not depend on farming for a living is a drifter. By the 1930's, however, the land holdings of the Spanish Americans had been so reduced in size that they no longer afforded the family a means of livelihood. The Spanish American, in his cultural orientation, measured the status of an individual by the amount of property that he divided among his heirs at the time of his death. According to this practice each son received an equal share of land-holdings, animals and the like which had constituted the estate of the father. Because of this practice it did not take long for large holdings to become small strips of land. One only has to ride up the Rio Grande Valley to see the little "farms" that constitute the only land holding of a family.

Thus, the depression years, followed by government relief works, such as WPA and SCS, completed the transition of the Spanish American as a group into a pure money economy. Because of the extended drought of the 1930's, he was unable to depend on his plot of land to raise the staple foods. The Spanish American realized that farming was not the only means of subsistence. With the wholesale introduction of a new type of economy came the necessity of learning new jobs and new social ways. The Anglo culture has, as one of its values, a definite social standing with any given job. Therefore, the Spanish American, wishing to compete economically with the Anglo, found that he had to compete socially as well.

This change in economy brought about the wholesale transfer of the Spanish American that one is witnessing today, from the rural community to the Anglicized urban setting. The Spanish American had a rude awakening in this movement also. Florence Hawley Ellis writes in 1946:

> In moving from the village background into Anglicized urbanization, the Manito (Spanish American) is bridging a period of three centuries. . . . Manitos who, without adequate acculturation, have attempted participation in the broad American pattern of life, have found social and economic equality almost nonexistent. This condition stems from two basic facts: (1) The recognized tendency of a majority group to question the position of any people different from themselves; and (2) the obviousness of the differences in basic idealisms of the group-designed personality pattern characteristic of the Manitos (lower and middle classes) differences so fundamental that the majority group cannot overlook them nor can the minority group quickly change them.[3]

It can be said in general that the Anglo culture has, as one of its contradictory values, discrimination of minority groups that are different from themselves. It is not the purpose of this work to analyze the bases of discriminatory practices. On observation it can be generalized that the Anglo society tends to discriminate against the Spanish American along a continuum from no discrimination to open, disgraceful arrogance like that displayed against the Negro. The Spanish American has been successful in having some of its members rise to middle-class status. The people in the middle class meet very little discrimination, if any, either in job competition or in housing. If there is any discrimination, in most instances it is so subtle that it is hard to detect. On the other hand, there is quite a lot of open discrimination against Spanish-speaking people who happen to fall in the lower-lower and upper-lower classes of Anglo society in job competition, in housing, and in social interaction.

---

[3] Florence Hawley Ellis, "The Role of Pueblo Social Organization in the Dissemination of Catholicism," American Anthropologist, Vol. 48, 1943, p. 407 ff.

It can be safely assumed that the Spanish American is over the hump in the acculturation process. Bitter years of suffering have shown him that his culture is inadequate in the new order. Except for token resistance among some members, the majority in actual practice feel that there is no solution to their problem, except acculturation. There are many romanticists within the Spanish American ranks that would revert back to the good old days. But when presented with the facts of the low income bracket of the Spanish American and the high mortality rate and infant death rate that was the case under the Spanish American cultural regime, a new outlook is sensed in their feelings. That there might be many romantic aspects and objectively better practices and values in the Spanish culture than in the Anglo culture can not be denied, but a culture is such a closely-knit organism that when one phase of it is destroyed, virtually all of its is destroyed, and it is only a question of time for final downfall.

As a final argument for acculturation, it might be pointed out that if the Anglo culture demands a certain social standing with each given job and if the Anglo culture tends to discriminate against minority groups that are different from the general run of the mill Anglo society, one is placing an individual in a position that he will be discriminated against by insisting that he remain in the old culture. Thus, if one wants to be a romanticist and wants to go back to the old culture, one is, in effect, saying, let the individual suffer. But if the individual is the primary concern, which he should be in our democracy, then the culture should be changed to fulfill the needs of the individual members in its ranks. If the total culture has become inadequate and obsolete in the new order of things, then the culture should be changed.

One may argue that the Anglo culture has a definite duty in accommodating itself to the Spanish American. That may be true and the writer agrees in part. But facing the issues squarely in a practical manner, the Anglo culture, holding the economic base as it is, has no necessity of recognizing the Spanish American culture. Conversely, if the Spanish American culture would be holding the economic base in the state, then it could demand that the Anglo culture accommodate itself to the Spanish way of life.

Status Quo

As has been stated previously, there is a rising middle class among the Spanish Americans in New Mexico. More and more young people are acquiring higher education. More and more Spanish Americans are learning the Anglo value of achievement. The transition has been enormous since 1945. However, there remains a great bulk of Spanish

Americans who are uneducated, and, consequently, unacculturated and thus fall into the lowest paying jobs of the Anglo economy.[4] There is another portion who are holding on tenaciously to their small holdings and by working part-time elsewhere are able to eke out a meager living. Such conditions prevail in rural situations. In urban situations, the uneducated and unacculturated Spanish Americans live in the worst areas of town, in slum or near slum conditions, and have the menial jobs, the only ones available to them, and at the lowest paying wages imaginable.

Taking the United States Census figures of 1950, the following picture is portrayed. The median income for persons of fourteen years old and over of Spanish surname is $1,156. In urban situations, it is $1,400 going down to $897 for rural farm.[5]

---

[4] Sister Lucia Van Der Eerden, "Maternity Care in a Spanish-American Community in New Mexico," Anthropological Series, No. 13 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1948), p.4.

[5] United States Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952).

CHAPTER VI

HEALTH

I. TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

Probably no facet of the Spanish American culture has been more thoroughly investigated than the medical practices. Sister Van Der Eerden made a comprehensive study in Ranchos de Taos in 1944.[1] Loomis made an analysis of the reasons why the Taos County Cooperative Health Association failed.[2] More recently Lyle Saunders made a study of medical practices of the Spanish American in an urban setting.[3] These studies are given as references to interested students who may wish to explore further the cultural differences of the Spanish American.

The traditional Spanish American developed a folk-medicine that took care of his well-being. These practices can be divided into three categories: (1) those concerned with physical well-being, (2) those concerned with psychological disturbances, and (3) those ascribed to witchcraft. In the first category, certain symptoms were associated with certain illnesses. In general, this pathology would compare favorably with that of rural Americans. The scientific terminology was not known nor was the specific nature of sickness. But through trial and error it was found that certain herbs and certain practices were effective in curing certain illnesses. If a specific remedy produced no favorable result in a particular case, someone within the extended family suggested another. The new remedy was tried without discrediting the validity of the original one for other cases.[4]

---

[1] Sister Lucia Van Der Eerden, "Maternity Care in a Spanish-American Community in New Mexico," Anthropological Series, No. 13 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1948).

[2] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 357-367.

[3] Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954).

Even though there were "curanderas" (equivalent to public health nurses in a sense) and "sobadores" (equivalent to chiropractors of earlier days), these people were not considered specialists in the same sense that medical personnel are regarded in the Anglo culture. These "specialists" were farmers and housewives, neighbors and relatives, who had learned more than the average person in the treatment of illnesses that were prevalent in the community. In diagnosing an illness, these persons would take advice, with no reluctance or compunction, from interested relatives and friends of the patient as well as from the patient. It was a family affair and everybody was mutually concerned with the patient's distress.

The diagnosis took the form of a family conversation. The patient would state where he had a pain and other relevant symptoms. Special attention was paid to the side that was aching and whether the pain penetrated to the opposite side of the body. A pain under the ribs penetrating to the back was considered to be more serious. A pain in the left side indicated something different from one on the right side. Sometimes the pain in one part of the body was diagnosed as being caused by an illness in quite another part of the body. Treatment was subsequently applied to the area of "illness" rather than directly to the pain. An example would be "empacho" (literally, indigestion of a special kind). A pain on the lower part of the back was sure to be empacho. Thus diagnosed, the patient lay on his stomach and the person treating the patient proceeded to pinch and flex the flesh on both sides of the lower spine. If there was a "snapping" of the muscles, the same therapy was continued at points further up the spine. Then a laxative, sometimes only salt water, was given.

---

[4] Ibid.

The Spanish American envisioned a balance of the body temperature. Thus, if the head became wet, the feet must be submerged in water lest the body heat go down to the lower extremities, leaving the upper part vulnerable to "cold" maladies. As a general rule, certain sicknesses were "cold" and others were "hot." A "cold" medicine was considered good for a "hot" sickness, such as fever, and a "hot" medicine was considered good for a "cold" sickness, such as dislocation of a joint or gas in the stomach. Distention of the stomach was usually traced to cold feet.

Herbs figured extensively in Spanish American folk medicine. These herbs, like sicknesses, were also classified as being "hot" or "cold." Some herbs were thought of as being more potent than others. According to the Spanish American pathology, which did not understand the theory of disease, a potent "hot" medicine, notably "osha," could cure several of the cold sicknesses. Saunders relates:

> The healing qualities of osha are largely concentrated in the root, which may be used in many ways to treat a wide variety of illnesses. Chewed raw or ground into a powder and made into a tea, it prevents flatulency and soothes the stomach. Drunk in hot water with sugar and whiskey, it will break up a cold and help to cure such respiratory illnesses as influenza, pneumonia, and pulmonary tuberculosis. Taken internally it will also reduce

> fevers. Applied directly to a wound in powdered form, or worn over a wound, osha promotes healing. An ointment for the relief and cure of cuts and sores can be made from mutton fat, candle wax, and turpentine into which is mixed some powdered osha, manzanilla (camomile) and contrayerba (caltrop). Mixed with olive oil, osha can be used as a liniment in the treatment of rheumatic pains, and it also is useful in the form of a paste to draw out the poison from snakebites. In addition, this highly versatile plant is used as the basis of an enema, as a remedy for colic in children, and as a means of protection against snakes, which are believed to be repelled by its pungent odor. Osha has recently entered into Anglo folk medicine as an ingredient in a cough remedy prepared and sold by a Denver druggist. It is also useful as a seasoning for soups and stews.[5]

Among the various herbs used, other than osha, there was "inmortal" (milkweed) which was valued highly during pregnancy and childbirth. Others used it to reduce headaches or chest pains and to reduce fevers. One extensive use it had was to clear head colds. The "inmortal" would be ground and sniffed up the nostrils. This produced strong sneezing and hence relief from congestion. Sometimes the whole family would partake of the treatment whether they had a cold or not.

Among medicines used were some that were not derived from herbs. One that has not been found in the literature is "ventosas." "Ventosas" were used by the "sobadores" to draw out the "kink" from strained muscles. The therapy consisted of placing a small candle (about an inch long) over the flesh where the pain persisted. Then a tall glass was placed over the lighted candle. The heat of the candle created a partial vacuum much like a suction cup and pulled up the flesh. The glass was slid along the area that ached. Sometimes the treatment was repeated several times. This, together with massage, produced the results desired.

---

[5] Ibid.

Headaches or eye soreness were commonly treated by pasting the gummed stamps found on tobacco sacks on the temple, the forehead, or the side of the nose. When a person had a sun stroke, he was taken into the sun, his feet were submerged in a basin of water, and a glass of water was upturned on his head.

Pregnancy was looked upon as a natural function of life and, therefore, no special attention was needed, at least for the first months.[6] However, towards the end of the period several restrictions were placed upon the pregnant woman. Some pertained to dietary restrictions and others had to do with avoidances and taboos.

In 1948 Van Der Eerden writes about pregnancy: "It is especially during the prenatal period that the Spanish American traditions influence the mother's behavior to the almost entire exclusion of the principles by which modern medical science would have her guide her conduct."[7]

Some practices prevalent during the time of pregnancy were:

1. The expectant mother was not to discuss her pregnancy.
2. The expectant mother received no special favors and carried on with her work often until the later stages of pregnancy.
3. Beginning with the fifth or sixth month, a stout cord called "muneco" was worn around the waist, in order to "keep the fetus in place."
4. "Inmortal" was widely used for relief of several conditions arising from the pregnant state.

---

[6] Van Der Eerden, op. cit., p. 8.

[7] Ibid., p. 8-9.

5. The mother sought to maintain emotional stability and great precautions were taken by all so that she might not be frightened by anything.
6. Dietary restrictions were observed and a reduced amount of water was taken lest the head of the child grow too big for easy delivery.
7. Frequent rosaries and novenas were said for safe delivery. For example, nine days prior to delivery, a novena to San Ramon Nonato was started for the mother.
8. She observed all avoidances and taboos, especially those concerning the moon, lest the child be deformed or die at birth.
9. A "partera" (midwife) was called in when labor started and she supervised the whole process of delivery.
10. The mother and older sisters, who had helped during the whole period of pregnancy, assisted through the delivery as well.
11. After delivery, the new mother remained in bed for eight days and indoors for forty. During this period she ate the meat of male animals only. It was considered that secondary complications would develop if she ate the meat of ewes or cows.

"Las parteras," or midwives, were persons who, through personal experience or through helping other midwives, became dexterous in helping in the delivery of children. There were no well-defined limits as to age, ancestry, economic status, education and the like which barred any woman from becoming a "partera." Neither was there any definite obligation on anyone in particular to make midwifery her life career. The profession was highly esteemed, yet, because of the difficulty in preparing for it and in keeping up with it, few women entered the profession. It literally was a 24-hour job. Those who entered it did so at relatively advanced ages. The training was gradual. Most of the midwives lacked scientific training and could boast of neither certification nor diplomas. The Department of Public Health has undertaken the training of some of the practicing midwives and these have been certified. But many of the midwives were illiterate and had to learn the remedies by heart.

Certain basic procedures prevailed although there are many individual variations. For example, the period of labor was spent standing up and walking about the room. There had to be a happy atmosphere in the labor room so that no harm would come to the baby or the mother. "Humasos," the burning of "aluzema" leaves, with the patient standing over the smoke prevented or cured hemorrhage. The navel of the newborn was dressed with olive oil or baking soda.

A second category of practices recognized in Spanish American folk-medicine had to do with psychological maladies.[8] The principal ailment considered in this area is "susto." Susto could be classified as shock, but not in the sense of the Anglo medical term, where the arteries dilate and there is a lessening of blood supply to the brain. It was actually a frightening experience which produced disease-like symptoms. Great care was taken when announcing bad news to a person lest the individual suffer sustc. In announcing the death of a close friend or relative, the individual receiving the news was first given a drink of water and then told the news. It was believed that the organs of the abdomen moved up in such cases and these interfered with the breathing of the patient, who was likely to lose consciousness. Epilepsy was considered to be in this category, but sometimes it was thought of as bewitchment.

---

[8] Saunders, op. cit., p. 148.

Persons who became insane were people who "thought too much," or who "read the Bible too much." In other words, these two reasons were the causative factors of insanity. Mentally retarded children, called "innocentes," were "born that way" and were "that way" either because the mother did not observe certain avoidances and taboos or because of some punishment from God. Regardless of the reason of the misfortune, there was nothing to do about it except accept these children as they were. There was always room in the extended family for them. The Spanish American abhorred the idea of institutionalizing them. These children learned to perform simple tasks and were never considered a burden to anybody.

A third category of illnesses was the sicknesses produced through bewitchment. A bruja could bewitch (hacerle el mal) any person she wished by bewitching food and having the unsuspecting victim eat it. Some believed that if another person happened to eat the potion by mistake, nothing would happen to him; others said that he would be bewitched anyway, whether he were the intended victim or not. Another common form of bewitchment was the making of a rag or clay doll, an effigy of the intended victim. The witch thrust needles into the parts of the effigy corresponding to those which she intended to bewitch in the victim. The number of needles determined the severity of bewitchment. Powder sent in love letters was supposed to bewitch a person into loving the sender to the exclusion of all other persons. Husbands who abandoned their wives to live with mistresses were thought to be bewitched by the concubine.

The regular "curandera" or "sobador" had no power over these illnesses. In fact, persistent failure of known medicines to alleviate symptoms was a sure sign that such a person was bewitched. Then an ex-witch, called "arbolario," would be consulted. An "arbolario" was a person who had repented of being a witch and was atoning for his sin by undoing the work of contemporary witches and persons possessed by the devil. He performed incantations and gave an assortment of herb medicines to the bewitched patient. At the critical moment, the patient would vomit human hair, mice, bones and the like. These efforts of the "arbolario" were strenously resisted by the witches causing the evil. The evil doers would come to the house, during the therapy, in the form of dogs or strange animals to try to harm the "arbolario" as well as the patient. Guards were usually stationed at strategic points while the therapy was taking place.

Sometimes an "arbolario" was not to be found and in such cases a person named "Juan" or "Juana" was called in to help. A person by that name had powers over the witches and the devil by the virtue of having the name "Juan." These "Juanes" usually did not undertake severe cases of bewitchment. Rather, they were willing to help only in mild cases such as "Mal Ojo" (evil eye).

Along with human efforts in bringing back to health sick members of the society, help was sought from God through the intercession of the saints. People prayed to special saints for specific sicknesses. For example, a pregnanat woman prayed to San Ramon Nonato. If the labor was long and hard, the family prayed to Nuestra Senora de Monserrat. San Lasaro was asked to intercede in cases of skin diseases. Sometimes a person would be asked to make an "Habito." This was a smock-like garment that represented the religious habit of the saint whose help was being sought. The priest would bless the garment and the patient donned it and wore it as long as he was sick. Subsequently, it was burned and the ashes were considered holy. These ashes, as well as ashes from holy palms, were taken with water for some sicknesses. Pilgrimages to different churches or santuarios were promised during the sickness and carried out after the patient got well.

A form of involuntary evil, caused by persons who were not witches, was the lore of "inconacion" (infection). These powers of "inconar" were inherent in a person whether he liked it or not. "Inconar" occurred when a person having this power walked into a room where a patient had open sores or wounds. Immediately the patient would start feeling discomfort and the pain would increase. No physical contact was necessary. These powers were extra-sensory. The power was not viewed as something that could be manipulated. Rather, it was a negative quality in the person and his mere presence caused the patient's sores or wounds to be infected. Patients with internal disorders were unaffected unless the power of "inconar" was particularly strong and intense.

In conclusion it can be said that the Spanish American in his traditional setting desired as good health as any other group.

Saunders analyzed the Spanish American pathology as: "Illness was conceived in terms of not feeling well. If there is not subjective feeling or discomfort, they do not believe one is ill, hence there is no obligation to do anything about it."[9]

There was among the Spanish American a desire to be strong. A healthy body was necessary to wrestle with an adverse environment. Many sicknesses were concealed because the people felt that, by being sick, they were failing in their obligations toward God and the family. Thus they would appear weak, not only in the eyes of their fellow men, but also in the eyes of God.

Much has been written about the fatalistic attitude of the Spanish American toward his environment, particularly about his personal health. Numerous instances have been recorded in the literature to prove this theory. Fatalism has been one of the reasons given for the apparent reluctance of the Spanish American to accept Anglo medical practices. Writers about Spanish American culture refer continually to the phrase, "God wills it." This explanation fails to penetrate and analyze closely the covert behavior and attitudes of the Spanish American. As a participant in the culture, the writer was never aware of his fatalism or the fatalism of the people surrounding him until it was mentioned to him by an outsider.

To clarify the issue, a hypothetical case will be considered. A girl breaks her leg. She is not taken to a doctor or hospital. Instead, the parents bring in a relative, who is a "curandero," and he sets the leg. Subsequently, after apparent healing, the leg stops growing and begins to shrink. No attention is paid to the matter until the pain is unbearable. Then the girl is taken to a doctor but by then it is too late for any real help from a professional person.. Thus the child grows deformed and crippled. The parents sigh and exclaim, "God wills it," or more common still, they will say, "Be it for the love of God." This is a clear-cut case of fatalism if all the circumstances are not examined. There are certain other variables that must be taken into account.

---

[9] Ibid.

The first is--can the family afford the medical treatment necessary? It has been stated that with the fee system in Anglo medical practice, only two types of people can afford early enough and adequate enough treatment, namely, the well off and the very poor who are relief cases. The middle group, the upper-lower and lower-middle classes, suffer the most because they can not afford to pay the medical fees for early enough and adequate enough treatment. These two groups constitute the majority of the population.[10] Probably the parents in this illustration belonged to the upper-lower class. They sought the services of their relative who they knew had been successful in setting broken bones. Also, he did not charge them for his services. They thought that they were doing the right thing and were not resigning themselves to the will of God without using the means at their disposal to remedy the situation.

A second circumstance impinging on the situation was the extent of ignorance pressing on these people. Had they foreseen in any manner what the ultimate consequences would have been, they would have redoubled their efforts. Often better informed people conversant with Anglo medical practices will delay remedial help, hoping that nature will take care of the malady.

---

[10] Robert J. Havighurst, and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1957), p. 18.

Another variable that can be pointed out is the fear of the hospital that was prevalent even among Anglos until rather recent times. An informant, who is a druggist, positively believes that until the coming of sulfa drugs and antibiotics, a seriously sick person entering a hospital had, despite the efforts of the medical personnel, only a 50-50 chance of coming out alive. The Spanish American in remote rural areas had little or no contact with competent and professional medical practice. Human nature being what it is, these people built a stereotype of the medical profession on the practices of old and inefficient doctors.

The issue is not to rationalize the situation in which the Spanish American found himself. Rather, it is hoped that this misunderstanding of a cultural orientation on the part of observers will be resolved. The writer firmly believes that the Spanish American would exclaim, "Be it for the love of God" or "God wills it" as a matter of mental-hygiene therapy and only after he had exhausted all the possibilities at his disposal. At no time was there any implication of fatalism. An outsider to the culture, seeing the limited efforts of the people when compared to Anglo middle class, can easily deduce that it was fatalism. What he fails to understand is the limited amount of knowledge that they had. A person can not be expected to do what he does not know is possible, nor to seek the help that he does not know exists. A person, knowing all the possibilities and being in a position to take advantage of them, can be called fatalistic if he does not do so. These conditions do not pertain in the case of the Spanish American.

The reluctance of the Spanish Americans to accept Anglo medical care has plagued social workers for a long time. Several theories have been advanced to explain this crucial problem. Sanchez places the problem squarely in the lap of government:

> The inadequacy of the provisions made for the support and administration of public education is illustrative of the failure of government to meet the problems presented by the New Mexican. This inadequacy is apparent in all fields of public service. Vital statistics are of particular significance in this connection. Whereas the infant mortality rate for the nation is 51 for every 1,000 live births, the rate in New Mexico is 125.9. Thirteen of the counties have an infant mortality rate of less than 100, eighteen counties have rates ranging from 104.8 to 167. It is significant to note that the ten counties that have the highest infant mortality rates in the state are counties where more than half of the population is Spanish speaking.[11]

Charles Loomis has analyzed the problem in terms of the Parsons' pattern variables. He says that the Spanish American medical personnel were effective as contrasted to the Anglo personnel who were effectively neutral.[12] In other words, the "curandera" (or "curandero") and "sobador" tended to maintain the role of relative and friend as well as a professional role in dealing with the patient and the family. The Anglo doctor looks at himself first as a doctor and then, in a very secondary sense, as friend and benefactor, even in treating persons close to him. Another aspect of personnel practices was that the Spanish gave status and prestige to their medical personnel by ascription while the Anglo society gives status and prestige through achievement alone. Viewed in totality, the medical practices of the Spanish American have a functionally diffused pathology and treatment. For example, one herb was thought capable of curing several ailments and the particular malady fell into a general category. Complicating factors were generally ignored. Anglo medicine had a specific treatment for a specific disease and complicating factors were examined and compensated for.[13]

---

[11] George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 33.

[12] Loomis and Beegle, loc. cit.

Saunders says that Spanish American medical practices presuppose (1) personal relations of rather intimate type; (2) familiar procedures, that is, any member of the family or society could criticize and demand that one treatment be substituted for another or that another treatment be applied in conjunction with the one currently underway; (3) active family participation; (4) home care vs. hospitalization; and (5) relatively low costs. By contrast the Anglo medical practices required (1) largely impersonal relations; (2) passivity of family and relations; (3) hospitalization; (4) high costs; and (5) almost complete control by professien personnel.[14]

The fundamental reasons for the rejection of Anglo medical care by the Spanish Americans have not been adequately attacked. This may be because they have not been adequately analyzed. As mentioned earlier the fee system of the Anglo medical profession has been a definite detriment to the majority in acquiring early enough and adequate treatment. The Spanish Americans were a people without money. Theirs was an agrarian economy in which barter was prominent and very little money was in circulation. They were also a people without government organization that took care of welfare and indigenous cases. They plainly could not afford professional care. The fact that very early after the introduction of the Anglo culture they began to use Anglo patent medicines shows that they were not reluctant to accept Anglo medicine. Recently, since their economy has improved, young, as well as old, go for medical treatment like any other group.

---

[13] Ibid., p. 198-199.

[14] Saunders, op. cit., p. 141-225.

The Spanish-speaking were a rural people without means of long distance transportation. Geddes expressed the fact that there were fewer doctors in rural areas than in urban centers; that there was less calibre in the rural practitioner than in the urban practitioner.[15] There were some instances in New Mexico where one doctor served an area of thirty miles in radius. The nearest hospital was over a hundred miles away. A people without money and without transportation cannot afford to travel 100 miles to be hospitalized except for serious illness.

The contact with less-than-average efficiency in medical personnel made the Spanish American dubious of the efficacy of Anglo medical care. The tradition of the culture which indicated that, in general, people tended to get well prevented the acceptance of medical practices that had been shown empirically to be better. Until recent years there has been no consistent, organized effort to disseminate information about better health practices.

---

[15] Ezra Geddes, Professor of Sociology, University of New Mexico, statement expressed in class on Social Problems of New Mexico, Spring Semester, 1958.

II. STATUS QUO

The reasons for the Spanish American rejection of Anglo medical care are obviously many and complicated. As a result, New Mexico has consistently had (1) the highest mortality rate and (2) the highest infant death rate in the nation. The infant death rates per 1,000 live births have been as follows:[16]

	1940	1948	1949	1950	1951	1956
New Mexico	100.6	70.1	65.1	54.8	55.4	37.3
Nation	47.0	32.0	31.3	29.2	28.4	26.4

Today there is still wide use of folkway medicine among the Spanish Americans. More and more young Spanish Americans, however, are discarding the old traditions and their elders are changing along with them. The indigent and the old are on the welfare rolls. Incidentally, there are more Spanish American people on the welfare rolls in New Mexico than Anglos despite the fact that even as far back as 1950 the Spanish American constituted only 36.5 per cent of the population in the state. The people on the welfare rolls willingly go to medical doctors and are frequently hospitalized. Young mothers, by and large, place themselves in the hands of a doctor for prenatal, natal, and postnatal care. While ten years ago, probably only about 10 per cent did this, today an estimated 90 per cent seek medical help. The one group that does not seek medical help too frequently, except in serious cases, is the middle group who cannot afford it.

---

[16] Edwin D. Goldfield, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1958, 79th Annual Edition (Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1958), p. 70.

In such distant communities as Gallina, Cebolla, and other mountain villages, isolation is no longer a factor. Everybody has a means of transportation. The people in Cebolla, for example, no longer rely on the one or two country doctors which for years were the only type of professional personnel available in the entire Tierra Amarilla area. Now within an hour or two, the people come down to Espanola or Santa Fe for medical treatment or hospitalization. Still it is hard for them to make a sixty- or eighty-mile trip for anything not too serious.

The schools together with the Public Health Department have done a great job of health education among both the adults and school children. This education has emphasized immunization and, in general, good preventive medicine.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICS

Politics as a franchise of the people was introduced with the annexation of New Mexico. Before that, both under the Spanish and under the Mexican regimes, politics amounted to cultivating the good graces of the crown or influential persons. That there was crookedness, backknifing and malingering in office can be seen historically from the numerous replacements of office holders and the accusations leveled against them. These manuevers affected only the patron class. The peon class had nothing to do with it and saw the changes in government as nothing more than changes of office holders, since these seldom affected their status.[1]

With the Anglo came a new order that the people did not readily understand. The peon class did not understand the power of their vote. Apodaca says that the people saw politics as a form of recreation.[2] The upper class was different in this respect. They were acquainted with political intrigue under the previous two regimes. So that when the Anglo brought his form of politics, the patron was on equal footing with his Anglo rival.

The disintegration of the patron system of economy was coincident with annexation of the territory. Even though the patron system was then legally abolished, the patron orientation of the people continued. Thus the politically-minded Spanish American patron was able to step into the shoes of the old patron and become political boss. Today there still is the political boss operating in New Mexico politics much in the same manner that the patron operated, that is, dictating to the people. In fact, some still refer to the political boss, who is in office, as "el patron."

---

[1] George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1940), p. 10.

[2] Anacleto G. Apodaca, The Spanish-American Farmers of the Tewa Basin and The Extension Service, Press Bulletin 1059 (State College, New Mexico: New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, December, 1951), p. 11.

It was through this means that the Spanish American was able to maintain political equality. The accommodation pattern in inter-group relationships established itself with the Anglo occupying the super-ordinate position in almost everything and the Spanish American, the sub-ordinate. This accommodation pattern has largely controlled the public offices opened to the Spanish American. For example, in the State offices, the governor's chair has traditionally gone to the Anglo candidate, while the lieutenant governorship has been the post of a Spanish American. In certain counties and areas this same pattern exists with several of the public offices. Until recently, the Spanish American constituted over 50 per cent of the population, and thus it seems that they could have had the upper hand in politics. The Spanish American group is a bloc to be reckoned with, but because of the rivalry among the Spanish American political bosses, they have never voted as a unit.[3] The Spanish American is as likely to support a Spanish-speaking candidate running against an Anglo opponent as he is likely to support an Anglo running against a Spanish American.

---

[3] Lyle Saunders, Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), p. 78.

The race issue is hardly ever openly discussed. The Anglo population knows that the Spanish American is quite sensitive about the problem. Therefore, compromises, behind the scenes, between Anglo and Spanish American political bosses are made in order to maintain tranquil waters. Some of the Spanish American candidates, however, have capitalized on the ethnocentrism of their people in vote-getting. A standing joke about a prominent political boss has been that he referred to the Spanish Americans, during the War, as Americans; during a campaign, as Spanish Americans; and at all other times, as just plain Mexicans.

In a recent election in a predominantly Spanish-speaking community, there were three condidates running for city mayor, a position consistently held by an Anglo. One of the candidates was Spanish American. The radio station, during the morning news, warned the Anglo voters that if they did not get out and vote, a person with a Spanish name might be the next mayor. This was kept up for the rest of the day. The Spanish American voters who otherwise would not have voted for the Spanish American candidate, turned out more or less en bloc and almost succeeded in electing him over the Anglo incumbent.

The rising middle class in the Spanish American society has adopted the middle class value of franchise. However, there remains a large percentage of the people who do not appreciate their suffrage. These people will follow a political boss blindly or will actually sell their votes. It seems that the schools will be the only hope for educating the children of this lower class to become intelligent participating citizens.

CHAPTER VIII

RECREATION

I. COMMUNITY RECREATION

One of the richest elements in the traditional Spanish American culture was the variety of recreational activities. Two outstanding features made it unique. One, it was closely tied to religion, and the other, it was community and family centered. Recreation strongly influenced the behavior of the society and tended to be a cohesive force holding the family, the community, and society together.

There were three major recreational activities that involved a community in general. These were the fiesta, the dance, and the serenading that took place on a person's Saint's Day or for New Year's Eve. An attempt will be made to point out the principal aspects of each.

The Fiesta

The fiesta was probably the most colorful event of the year in any community. The fiesta usually took place on the village's Patron Saint's Day. The celebration started with the singing of vespers the night before. Vespers in the Catholic ritual consists of the recital of hymns, psalms, and lessons from the Bible. All of these were sung in Latin, of course, but the strain of the Gregorian Chant has a soft appeal to the emotions and all the people enjoyed it. At certain intervals when the choir would sing, "Per omnia saecula saeculorum," a man at the rear of the church would beat a drum. When this happened, another man or two would fire a volley with muskets outside the church.

When vespers were over, the procession took place. The men had built luminarias out of peachwood around the village, and these would be lit for the procession. The people filed out of the church, men on one side and women on the other. The choir took its place in the middle of the procession, followed by the priest and the Patron Saint which was carried on the shoulders of the Mayordomos. (The mayordomos were the persons who had taken care of the church, sweeping and cleaning it for the past year.) The procession wound through the plaza singing the rosary. The men sang the first part of the Hail Mary and the women answered; or the choir sang the first part and all answered. It was a very colorful picture to behold--with the luminarias blazing away, the people dressed in their finest, the strains of a singing procession, an occasional beating of a drum and the shattering of the night silence by the muskets.

The following morning a Solemn Mass, or at least a High Mass, was sung. At the end of the Mass another procession took place through the village plaza. In some communities, the men dressed their horses with streamers and jingle bells, and marched in front of the procession. They arranged themselves in two files and crossed ranks a few feet ahead of the people while the procession wound through the plaza.

After the procession the mayordomo invited everybody to his home to partake of the fiesta dinner. The people congregated at the mayordomo's house and the fiesta continued with wining, music and dancing. The men segregated themselves to talk about matters that concerned them, usually crops, rainfall and herds. The women stayed indoors carrying on a boisterous conversation, usually gossip. The eats were separated into the "brindes" and the meal proper. The "brindes" consisted of drinks, soft and hard, cookies, biscochitos, cake, and bulk candy. One man was appointed to call the guests, in small groups, to eat. They stood around the table of the "brindes," which was separate from the dining room, and partook, and then proceeded to the main table. The musicians played their violins and guitars in the same room. After the men finished eating (this process took some time since only a dozen or so were asked in at once), the women-folk went through the same procedure, and finally, the children. In the meantime, dancing went on in an adjacent room, but the dancing did not properly begin until the musicians went to the community dance hall.

Druing the afternoon there were special events such as rooster-snatching contests, horse races or a game of "chueco." However, dancing was the major preoccupation that involved everybody--old people, middle-aged, adolescents, and even children. A dance usually lasted late into the night and sometimes even after sunup the next day. There were numerous types of dances. There were polkas, varsovianas, cutilios, valses, valses chiquiados, talianes, quadrillas, and jarabes. These were lively and melodious, and all knew how to dance these various steps.

The dance took place in a large hall with benches along the wall. The women sat on the benches and men stood at the rear. The musicians were seated on top of a table in front. They kept rhythm to their violins and guitars by tapping their feet. Whenever a man wanted to dance, he would go ask a lady. It was considered very ill-mannered to refuse any man a dance. Sometimes this was difficult to do because the man might be drunk. There was a sanction on dancing too many encores with any individual except the husband. Girls were strictly chaperoned. The father took the whole family to the dance and the girls sat close to the mother or asked her permission to move to another place close to a friend. The dance was about the only public meeting place for boys to meet girls. Because of the taboo of dancing too many encores with one person, a girl and a boy had to wait long intervals between dances. After the mother thought that the two had danced enough with each other, she signaled the daughter with her eyes not to dance with him any more. The girl obediently told the boy during their last dance not to ask her for any more dances.

The men in the back of the hall watched and either admired or ridiculed the people on the dance floor. A man who acquired a reputation for exceptional performance of a certain dance went to the musicians and requested the number. With all pomp and glory, he then invited his favorite dancer, usually somebody other than his wife, to do him the honor. This couple was given the floor and a tremendous ovation went on through the dance and after it ended. Between dances, the men went out for a breath of fresh air or for a drink with their friends. They carried their own liquor and all drank from the same bottle. Most of the men would get quite drunk and fighting often occurred.

This description is typical of the weekly dances in the community although there might have been fewer in attendance at the weekly affairs. In order to announce to the community that there would be a dance that night, the musicians and a group of men would parade through the village on foot or in a wagon or buggy. The musicians played merrily and the men shouted loudly. This was called, "sacar el gallo." The weekly dance was a regular feature and was one form of social interaction that involved everybody.

Wedding Fiesta

The wedding fiesta was also an occasion for community get-together. The fiesta started with the "prendorio," where the bride was given away. The eating, drinking, and dancing went on much as described above. However, not all the "prendorios" had a dance. The following day, after the wedding Mass, the big fiesta continued. Throughout the day the men joked and conversed with each other and the women did the same. The children milled around, doing very much as they pleased. Any kind of fiesta had a place for children. The children, on such occasions, were left pretty much to themselves. They loved fiestas. At night the wedding dance would take place. After the dance all the people went back to the bride's house and the "entriega de los novios" took place. The "entriega" was the singing of a prescribed set of stanzas in which the bride was told that now she was one with the husband and she had severed her obligations to her nuclear family. The husband was exhorted of his obligations and the parents were told that the betrothed were a family of their own, and, while they owed their parents respect and love, they no longer were to be considered as members of the immediate family.

Other kinds of fiestas, rather minor ones, occurred when an infant was baptized or on other special occasions.

The Serenade

Another activity that involved the members of the community was the custom of serenading a person early in the morning before sunrise on the individual's Saint's day. One's Saint's day was acquired by the name an individual was given in Baptism. Thus, if a person was named Juan, his Saint's day was St. John's Day, June 24th. The honored person would invite the serenaders in for "brindes." The honor of being serenaded was not given to everybody, but only to persons having above average status and prestige. The person so honored would return the favor by giving a dance that night for the entire community.

A closely related custom was to go serenading ("dando los dias") to all the homes in the village on New Year's Day, starting at midnight. The first serenaded was the Patron Saint at the church. From there the men went from house to house and sang to the family and in turn received "brindes." The singing was done by one or two individuals who had a talent for composing couplets. He sang the verses to fit the occasion and the family being serenaded.

II. FAMILY RECREATION

The family recreation, at times, could not be distinguished from the village recreation because it was carried on an extended family basis. However, there were several activities that were definitely family-centered, although they might have involved some members outside the family.

Cuentos. A great pastime was to roast pinon or corn and sit by the fireplace, later around the kerosene lamp, to eat these delicacies and to hear stories from an old man or an old lady. These "cuentos" could be divided into three general categories. There were the "cuentos" dealing with religious or Biblical stories and having a strong moral. There were those which had a strong character who passed through several trials and obstacles, but triumphed in the end. These were in all probability carry-overs from the days of chivalry in Spain. In fact, some dealt directly with knights killing dragons. Finally, there were those that were picaresque in nature. Here a rogue, a fool, or some derisive character played countless numbers of tricks and stunts on a priest, a patron or a nobleman. It could probably be said that these were also carry-overs from the court jester. At any rate, it was a means of the peon class "getting back at" the patron class. All of these "cuentos" molded the character of the individual by exalting high moral values and degrading weaknesses, either moral or physical.

The family would hold sessions in telling "adivinansas" (riddles). There were thousands of riddles in Spanish American folklore. A person would tell the riddle and those who did not know the answer had to pay a penalty, usually a prayer for the Poor Souls in Purgatory.

At other times the family talked about witches. There is a rich folklore of witchcraft in the Spanish American culture. A person would usually relate a witch story as his compadre or friend had told it to him. Rarely were there any first-hand experiences. Some of the bolder ones who had been away from the village would relate a personal experience that had to do with brujas or ruidos (noises). This story was immediately incorporated into the family fund of witch tales and henceforth would be related as "This happened to my brother. . . ." This story telling of brujas had its effects on the behavior of children and young girls, especially, in that fear of the supernatural actually was one of the controlling factors of behavior.

Games. There were some games played within the family circle. Some were competitive and some involved mental gymnastics like checkers and chess in the Anglo culture. One table type game was called "la liebre" (the hare), where within lines on a board, "hounds" chased the hare until it was cornered. They also had "pitarria" which was also played on a board. They played cards both for recreation and gambling. They had a game equivalent to "put and take" which was played by spinning a little square top that had letters or numbers on the sides. They added to, subtracted from, or won the jackpot according to the letters that turned up in spinning the top. These games were played for matches, dry beans or money.

One outside sport was "chueco." This game closely resembles la crosse. The principal equipment consisted of the "chueco," an oak stick about three feet long with a curved tip of about eight to ten inches in length, and a leather homemade ball about the size of a softball. The game was played in an open field smooth enough for running, such as a meadow. The boundaries were set apart, ranging from 500 yards to half a mile. The object of the game was to cross the ball over the boundary by hitting it with the "chueco" or by kicking it with the foot. At no time could the ball be handled with the hands. To start the game the ball was buried in the middle of the field and two opposing players started digging it out with their "chuecos." Once it was out, hardly any holds were barred in order to get control of the ball. In official games there were five men on each team and each player had a man to guard. It was rough and dangerous sport. It was a game also in which heavy betting took place. Within the writer's family, one of the heaviest bets made by the grandfather was 1,000 head of sheep and 500 sacks of grain. The manager of the team usually was a patron in the village and if he was successful in the betting, he divided the winnings with the team and helpers.

Another sport in which the men engaged was breaking broncos. As far as the writer knows, there was no counterpart of the circuit rodeo that is prevalent today. Rather, the breaking of broncos was fun connected with work. Every Spanish American young man was expected to be a good horseman and thus breaking broncos was part of his training. Horsemanship, and the training of horses, for both work and show, was a great lore in the Spanish American culture. Every man wanted a beautiful saddle horse. Status and prestige were attached to the quality of horsemanship in an individual and the kind of horse he owned, that is, not in terms of breeding, but in terms of training and care.

Social Relationships. The last major recreational activity to be considered is the formal social interrelationship in the Spanish American society. A distinction was made between the formal and informal visiting that went on among the village people. For example, a woman might have visited a neighbor several times during the day, but these visits were considered informal. If at night or on a Sunday afternoon she wished to pay a visit to the household, this was considered formal. For such an occasion she had to dress up. Usually the husband and one or two of the children went along. Sometimes one would travel as much as ten to fifteen miles with the entire family to pay a formal visit to his compadre. Sometimes the family would spend the night at a compadre's place as part of a formal visit. These visits were considered as paying an honor to the family visited. This honor would be returned at a later date.

III. RECREATION IN THE TRANSITIONAL SPANISH AMERICAN SOCIETY

Today there remain few vestiges of these traditional activities. There are some fiestas celebrated in different communities and in communities within an urban center, for example, Old Town Fiesta in Albuquerque. However, most fiestas in any community are largely commercial in nature and are nothing more than means of attracting the customers by the promoters. In some areas, there are the Saturday dances that most of the people attend. Heavy drinking goes on most of the time and the dances are not enjoyable as they once were. The custom of serenading a person on his Saint's Day has all but disappeared, as has serenading on New Year's Eve.

The family recreation has also changed tremendously. Two technical changes have revolutionized the family life of the Spanish American as far as recreation is concerned. One is better means of transportation. By this means a whole family rides into town to attend a movie or other event. More Spanish Americans are adopting the custom of a vacation trip. The other factor is rural electrification. With electricity, came all the modern conveniences, including television. Television and movies, as well as the other types of commerical entertainment, have displaced traditional Spanish American recreation. That some vestiges still persist is true, but the transition in recreation is nearly complete and little remains of a traditional pattern.

CHAPTER IX

THE SCHOOL AND THE CHILD

The cultural orientations and practices of the Spanish American have been presented with intent to help teachers understand better the Spanish American student. Many generalizations have been made for which little statistical evidence was presented. The purpose of this booklet is to show a general picture of what the Spanish American tended to be like and the many different levels of acculturation in which he will be encountered today.

The teachers will find the students behaving in a variety of ways according to their cultural orientations. It has been stated repeatedly that the Spanish American people are in a great state of flux. This same flux, the same continuum of acculturation, will be reflected in the behavior of the students in the class room. The teacher will find children behaving the same as Anglos, with all their orientations, their language background, and their environmental experiences. At the same time, the teacher will find students who look like their acculturated peers, dress like them, but who have a more traditional or entirely traditional outlook on life.

All children in school, regardless of culture or social background, have certain physical and psychological needs in common. Among these are the need for belonging, the need for participation, the need for recognition, and the need for security. How these needs will be met for the children of different cultural backgrounds will depend on the value orientations of their society. What constitutes belongingness among the Spanish American, among the Pueblo Indian, or among the Anglo? What constitutes status among the Spanish American? Is it different from that of the Anglo? These are questions too subtle to answer in a brief statement. It requires much reflective thinking on the part of the teacher to be able to analyze the psychological needs of the children in terms of their culture. If the child is to understand what the teacher can do for him or what she expects of him, she must do this reflective thinking.

Besides these psychological needs, which must be met within the cultural orientation of the child, are other needs arising directly from the cultural factor. The child, upon entering school, is entering into a new way of life. The school has a culture distinct from the rest of society. It has its own intrinsic values and formalisms. When the child is not acquainted with the Anglo culture and enters the school that has added additional formalities to this culture, he has many problems.

The values of the teacher and her expectations are predominantly middle class. How can she expect middle class behavior from a child whose heritage does not recognize this social class system? Yet, the sanctions that she places on children clearly attest to this paradox. A great number of teachers are extremely biased in their philosophy and ethical values and whatever does not meet their standards is immediately termed as "bad." The teacher should analyze her own philosophy and standards before she condemns children with different ways of behaving. Too many teachers think that they have a strong philosophy of life when they only have a pattern of deep-rooted stereotypes. The teacher should analyze her middle-class Anglo culture to see how imperfect it is and how many contradictory values it has, before deriding other cultures. Instead of coercing the student into behaving according to her dictum, she should gently guide all pupils into orientations of the new culture.

The Spanish American children, in general, are in need of a new orientation as to:

1. Acquisition of the Anglo value of achievement and success.
2. Time orientation that will be precise according to the hour and minute but also looking forward into the future in this "temporal life."
3. Scientific interpretation of natural phenomena.
4. Acceptance of change and a zeal in looking forward to change.
5. Social relationships, whereby their "docility" and "timidity" will evolve into desirable aggression.
6. Economic efficiency, whereby they will learn the value of money and acquire the ability to spend it wisely.
7. A more universalistic outlook on life so that they will see the total picture instead of ascribing importance to the separate details.
8. Acceptance of scientific medical practice.

Until these new orientations are internalized, there is little hope for progress for these children. Until they learn new ways of behavior, they will not be accepted into the dominant group. Minority group status is then accompanied by a multitude of social anomalies springing forth in the form of a spiral. The more important ones in the downward spiral are discrimination, poverty, ignorance, and apathy. The accommodation pattern in New Mexico has been subtly enforced by the majority group and tacitly adhered to by the minorities. In effect, minority group status is perpetuated in the school because of (1) denial of educational opportunity to Spanish Americans, and (2) utter lack of awareness on the part of teachers of socio-cultural factors which affect education.

Considering the denial of educational opportunity to Spanish Americans, one has only to examine typical performances of Spanish-American children in school in order to see the great incidence of educational retardation. Twenty years ago, Tireman found that children of Spanish-American background performed on an equal basis with Anglo children up to the second and third grade. The gap of retardation widened as the child progressed through school. The present study has found the same to be true. Table V gives some results obtained in multi-cultural schools during the 1958-59 school year.

These results show a definite pattern of advanced educational retardation, increasing with years in school attendance. Where, when, and how did the schools fail? This question is too complicated to answer briefly. Like many other phenomena, a gradual withdrawal of little essential elements probably would have made the greatest difference in the world. The fiscal policy of the state in financing its schools, lack of financial means on the part of the parents to help their children through school, little or no value placed on formal education by the parents, and a complex of other factors have been the cause of the slow progress that the Spanish American child has made through school.

TABLE IV

MEDIAN SCORES OF SPANISH AMERICAN CHILDREN FROM SELECTED SCHOOLS

Grade	National Median	Grade Equivalent Scores					Percentile Rankings					
		Gilmore Oral Reading Test*			Iowa Tests of Basic Skills*		New Standard Vocabulary Test*			Idioms Test**		
		No. of Students	Class Median									
			Accuracy	Comprehension	No. of Students	Class Median	Nat'l. Median	No. of Students	Class Median	Anglo Median	No. of Students	Class Median
3	3.5	40	3.1	3.5	28	3.0						
4	4.5	32	3.5	4.1	20	3.6				50	86	10
5	5.5	24	3.8	3.8	37	4.4				50	86	5
6	6.5	28	5.4	5.7	24	5.0				50	195	5
7							50	31	17			
8							50	6	20			

*Research Study entitled, "The Adjustment of Indian and Non-Indian Children in the Public Schools of New Mexico." College of Education, University of New Mexico, Miles V. Zintz, Director. 1957-1960.

**Yandell, Maurine Dunn, "Some Difficulties Which Indian Children Encounter with Idioms in Reading." (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1959). Jewel Baker, "A Comparative Study of Three Cultures, Anglo, Spanish American and Indian, with Idioms, Proverbs, and Figures of Speech," (unpublished Problems paper, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1959).

The causal elements mentioned above have been discussed previously. There is one other cause that has not been discussed heretofore, that is, the extent of teacher awareness of socio-cultural factors as they impinge on education. A recent study showed that, in general, teachers are not aware of socio-cultural differences of ethnic groups as they affect the education of minority group members.[1] From a large sample of teachers interviewed, it was concluded that teachers were aware of obvious phenomena in regard to cultural differences; however, when underlying cultural considerations were examined, teachers showed little or no sensitivity. For example, the teachers interviewed in this study were very much aware of differences in general home environment of Anglo, Spanish-American and Indian children. Yet, when they were confronted with the question of how meaningful were classroom experiences of the children from the three ethnic groups because of their direct, first-hand experiences, the teachers failed to show any awareness of differences. In other words, teachers indicated that the children are getting cultural or language background. Again, teachers were very much aware of differences in proficiency in the use of oral English among the Anglo, Spanish American and Indian. But when they were asked about abilities to use the regular text books written for a given grade by pupils in that grade, they showed no distinction among ethnic groups. This means that teachers, in general, believed that a sixth-grade child should be able to read a sixth-grade text regardless of the child's social, cultural, or language background.

---

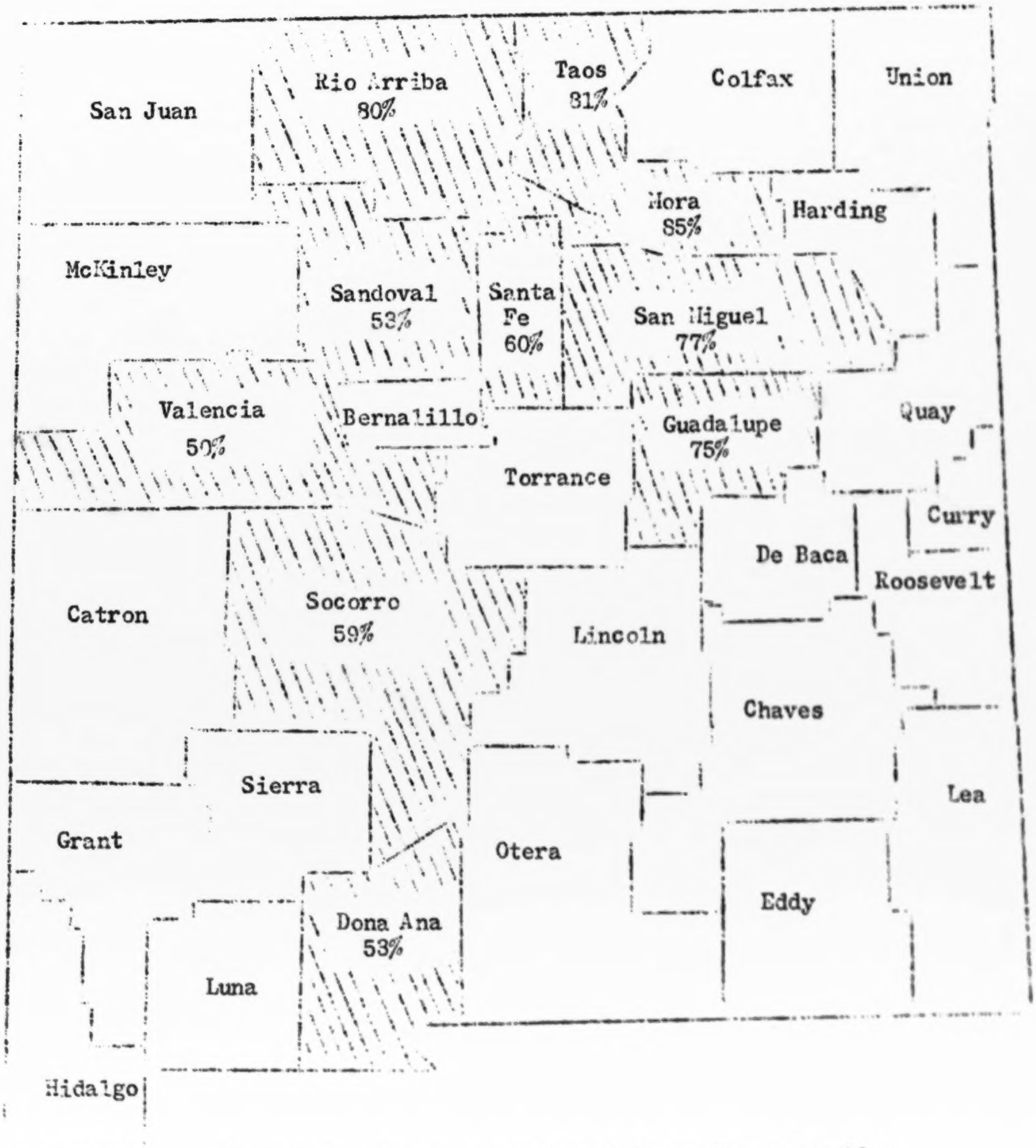
[1] Horacio Ulibarri, "Teacher Awareness of Socio-Cultural Differences in Multi-Cultural Classrooms" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1959.)

The implications that such unawareness has for education are many. The principal one is that teachers will pitch their teaching at an imaginary median where they hope to reach most of the students. But, by not knowing where the child is in the scale of acculturation, where his level of experience is, and where his abilities lie, by gearing the curriculum to this imaginary median, the teacher may, in effect, be losing contact with the majority of students, especially bicultural students.

In conclusion, the hopes and aspirations of a people proud of their heritage lie in education. Education is the principal avenue for these people to regain their rightful place in society. Too many of them as yet do not begin to comprehend the value of a sound education. Parents have only a blind faith in what education can do for their children. The living standards, the morale, the expectations of these people will rise as they get educated. Any society operates only at the level to which its members are educated. It is the job of the school administrators and teachers in the classroom to help these people help themselves.

AREAS OF CONCENTRATION OF

PERSONS OF SPANISH SURNAME



Spanish Americans concentrated in northern counties.

Mexican Americans concentrated in southern counties.

Source: Calculated from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950. Vol. 4, Part 3, Chapter C, Table 7; and Vol. 2, Part 31, New Mexico, Table 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

American Association of School Administrators. *Educational Administration in a Changing Community.* Washington: National Education Association, 1959.

Burma, John H. *Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954.

Davis, Allison. *Social-Class Influences Upon Learning.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Eells, Kenneth, *et al.* *Intelligence and Cultural Differences.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951.

Havighurst, Robert J., and Bernice Neugarten. *Society and Education.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1957.

Hollingshead, August B. *Elmtown's Youth.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949.

Loomis, Charles P. *Informal Groupings in a Spanish-American Village.* Washington: U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1940.

______, and Olen E. Leonard. *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito, New Mexico,* Rural Life Studies, No. 1. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

______, and J. Allan Beegle. *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957.

Marden, Charles F. *Minorities in American Society.* New York: American Book Company, 1952.

Mead, Margaret (ed.). *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change.* New York: The New American Library, 1955.

Parsons, Talcott. *The Social System.* Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951.

Reid, J. T. *It Happened in Taos.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946.

Sanchez, George I. *Forgotten People.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

San Jose Experimental School. *We Learn English,* A Preliminary Report of the Achievement of Spanish-Speaking Pupils in New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1936.

Saunders, Lyle. *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954.

Tireman, Loyd S. *Spanish Vocabulary of Four Native Spanish-Speaking Pre-First-Grade Children.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

______. *Teaching the Spanish Speaking Child.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951.

______, and Mary Watson. *A Community School in a Spanish-Speaking Village.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

Van Der Eerden, Sister Lucia. *Maternity Care in a Spanish-American Community of New Mexico,* Anthropological Series, No. 13. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1948.

Walter, Paul A., Jr. "Spanish-Speaking Americans," *Race and Cultural Relations.* New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1952.

Warner, W. Lloyd, *et al.* "Social Class in America," in *Readings in Sociology,* Alfred McClung Lee, editor. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1957.

______, *et al.* *Who Shall Be Educated?* New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1944.

Williams, Robin, M., Jr. *American Society, A Sociological Interpretation.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

b. PERIODICALS AND BULLETINS

Apodaca, Anacleto G. *The Spanish-American Farmers of the Tewa Basin and the Extension Service,* Press Bulletin 1059. State College, New Mexico: New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 1951.

Bureau of Business Research. "Some Cold Facts for Welfare Workers in New Mexico," Business Information Series, No. 22, June, 1953.

Burma, John H. "The Present Status of Spanish-Americans in New Mexico," *Social Forces,* Vol. 28, December 1949, pp. 133-38.

Campa, Arthur L. "Manana is Today," *New Mexico Quarterly Review,* 2:3-11, February, 1939.

Donnelly, Thomas C. "Educational Progress in New Mexico and Some Present Problems," *New Mexico Quarterly Review,* 16:306-17, Autumn, 1946.

Ellis, Florence Hawley, "The Role of Pueblo Social Organization in the Dissemination of Catholicism," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 48, 1943.

Goldfield, Edwin D. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1958.* 79th Annual Edition. Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1958.

Loomis, Charles P. "El Cerrito, New Mexico: A Changing Village," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 33:53-75, January, 1958.

Manuel, Herschel T. "Bilingualism: The Measurement of Ability in Two Languages," *Texas Journal of Science*, 4:490-493, December 30, 1952.

New Mexico Taxpayers Association. *This is How Public Schools are Financed in New Mexico*, a "Know Your Government " report prepared in Cooperation with the State Educational Budget Auditor. Santa Fe: New Mexico Taxpayers Association, April, 1957.

Public School Finance Division. *Statistics, Fiscal Year 1958-1959.* Santa Fe: Department of Finance and Administration, State of New Mexico, 1958.

United States Bureau of the Census. *Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952.

Walter, Paul, Jr. "The Spanish-Speaking Community in New Mexico," *Sociology and Social Research*, 24:150-151, November-December, 1939.

C. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Baker, Jewel. "A Comparative Study of Three Cultures, Anglo, Spanish-American, and Indians, with Idioms, Proverbs, and Figures of Speech." Unpublished Problems paper, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1959.

Jimenez, Carmina. "Performance on English and Spanish Editions of the Standord-Binet by Spanish-American Children." Unpublished Master's thesis, the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1951.

Research Study entitled, "The Adjustment of Indian and Non-Indian Children in the Public Schools of New Mexico." College of Education, University of New Mexico, Miles V. Zintz, Director. 1957-1960.

Ulibarri, Horacio, "Teacher Awareness of Socio-Cultural Differences in Multi-Cultural Classrooms." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1959.

Yandell, Maurine Dunn. "Some Difficulties Which Indian Children Encounter with Idioms in Reading." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1959.

ALFRED M. POTTS, 2d